



A booklet, providing all the background material and an analysis of the case has been produced. It costs 30p and is called Persons Unknown. Information on the trial has also been published and is available (with the booklet) from: Box 123 c/o 182 Upper Street, Islington, London N1. The trial looks like continuing for several months and donations are required for food etc. for the defendants. However there is no bank acc. so do not make cheques payable to Persons Unknown! Send money to address above.

The NOVEMBER Pilot Issue **30p**

SEDITIONOUS ?

Once upon a time, in a land marked by the pointed heads of its protectors, consternation had struck the local Anti-terrorist Squad (no relation). Business was slack, morale apalling and the foreign nasties were being quite successful in their own quarter of the world. All in all, things were pretty bleak.

The standard practice in this sort of situation is the old "Anarchist Bombing Conspiracy" strategem. Used before, but then, the best ideas often are. First select your anarchists, not the difficult bit but it does help if they're all unemployed. An Irish connection is like a free transfer to the Merseyside police. Now arrest them. It's only now that you can build up a case. Keep people in prison long enough and they'll help you with this.

Ideally your case should first involve charges connected with bombings. Then you can get headlines like "Hunt for terror targets" (Mirror - type headline) and "Bomb-making equipment was seized..." (Telegraph - type headline). This maximises your impact with potential jurors. If you need to find some articles used to manufacture bombs, the following might do: fertilizer (not organic please), sugar

This makes you look really good and objective. In fact it does no harm to say you've really got nothing against anarchists - you can afford to look repulsively liberal. After all the jury already knows what an idle, drug crazed bunch they really are (it was in the Express M lud).

It's a pity, all in all, that the police are unable to pick the jury. Ideally it would be good to

It would be nice to arrange for a bit of identification from witnesses, but this is not essential. Remember- you can win a case on flimsy circumstantial evidence - if there is enough of it. A good example of the kind of thing I mean is pictures of the Queen or members of the Royal Family hanging on the wall. These obviously would serve as aids to identification as part of assassination plots.

In conclusion I might just mention that if the defendants really are guilty, then it makes your job even easier - not much easier, but a little.

"Politics have nothing whatever to do with this article"

Michael Worsley (Prosecutor)



A REAL Urban Gorilla

Xtra! for a quiet laugh



Derrick Day and friend
Inside: conversations with a Fascist....(bit) Exclusive!
an inside look at Excalibur House.

JURY OR PERJURY ?

When fixed, adjusted juries voice
The perjured truth by sifted choice,
Then we - with anguish - wish to see
Our justice just and freedom free.



© N. Racine-Jaques, 1979
(sweetex makes your case more difficult), wiring (that's the easy one) or wrist watches (timing devices).

You can capitalise on your initial advantage with massive security for court hearings (good training for the chaps) and harassment of the defendants' supporters. Following all this you can quietly drop the bombing charges and concentrate on purely criminal charges.

run all potential jurors through the computers and keep out all those who might know criminal associates, and all those vindictive minded individuals who have complained about the police.

The primary point with the evidence is to make it complicated. Drag it out for months, bring in everything from dry-cleaning bills to dust. I've always found that charts of "known associates" tend to impress the jury.



Andrew Ward (REPORT)

Persons Unknown Defendants

THE POLITICS OF PARTICIPATION

Do The Workers Really Want Control?

Libertarian Socialists will naturally be familiar with the arguments for workers' control. But whatever happened to the mainstream ideas on Industrial Democracy? We look at Bullock, before and after.

I Participate, Thou Participate, He/She Participates, We Participate, You Participate, They Profit.

This slogan, first sighted on a Paris wall in 1868, makes a crucial point. Control in industry may need participation but participation does not necessarily mean control. But until the late 1950s this distinction had hardly ever been made in labour circles, except by Anarchists or Syndicalists who succeeded in having only temporary influence.

Until that time debate tended to centre on workers taking minor decisions, sitting on management boards, joining in formal joint-consultation but not attempting to wrest control from management.

The greatest stumbling block to any extension of workers' control has not come from management resistance, but from a deep-seated suspicion within unions of getting involved in management at all. Management is seen as something to be opposed. Hostility to participation has meant industrial democracy has been sought through an extension of collective bargaining. Trade union channels are considered to be the only route whereby workers can hope to have more say over their working environment.

Doctrine

A further theoretical stumbling block also exists. Socialist thought has always contained doctrines involving control over the means of production. Workers have been envisaged as direct participants in the control of productive enterprises. But on the other hand, and as meaningful to many socialists down the years, is the doctrine of central control on behalf of the entire community. Both doctrines concern themselves with how industry should be controlled, but while the former opts for decentralisation, the latter opts for centralisation. This conflict has usually been resolved in favour of central direction and this necessarily limits the amount of control allowable to workers at plant or industry level.

Despite long periods of Labour Governments with supposedly socialist programmes, including plans for extensive nationalisation, concern for consumer protection and the national interest has triumphed over a desire to increase industrial democracy. The Labour Party and Trade Union movement are still committed to giving workers more control but only through widening and extending trade union functions, and not by any fundamental restructuring of the processes of industrial decision-making.

Planning

But then this is partly due to the path of British socialism. Socialism is no longer the goal, instead the goal is a planned economy. For this socialism is a technique but not an end in itself. In an inter-dependent economy and a highly integrated society, economic autonomy would endanger the overall plan. Thus a Government committed to a plan-

ned economy cannot allow workers control in strategic sectors of the economy. It is also a triumph for traditional institutions: the supremacy of Parliament remains intact and so does the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility.

In the nationalised industries, it was hoped that the rank-and-file might be encouraged to contribute from personal experience. However, these expectations have given way to disappointment. The status of the worker has not improved nor is there more participation. The workers relationship with the managers may have deteriorated, as the ultimate boss is now even more remote.

To make matters worse many of the appointees to boards of nationalised industries are men with no sympathies with nationalisation. Blatant political appointments would have left the Government open to criticism and set up a double edged precedent to be used by the Conservatives. But workers could quite justifiably have been chosen. As Openshaw of the AEU put it, "we have always argued in the Socialist Party that brains are not a monopoly of any particular class. I certainly believe and am convinced that there is sufficient brains within the Trade Union and Socialist movement to warrant a far greater proportion of seats on the governing bodies of nationalised industries".

If workers have little say in nationalised industry, the future for workers control in the private sector must look even bleaker. Trade Unions are acting defensively and not taking the positive action workers control requires. Management prerogatives can be circumscribed but are not questioned.

Bullock

Certainly some industrial democrats would like to see a partnership between managers and workers - but to increase efficiency, productivity, and profitability rather than to transfer power to the hands of the workers. Hence both the Conservatives and the liberals pay lip service to the idea of industrial democracy. But their motive is purely one of profit-seeking, with no thought of altering the workers' position to anything other than a productive force to be bought and sold along with machinery and plant.

Interest in workers' control has been generated recently by the establishment, and the output of the Institute for Workers Control, and the debates surrounding the Bullock Report. But the IWC is a forum for discussion, and much of what it has published is contradictory and incoherent unless looked at on an individual basis.

It is through the IWC that prominent Labour MPs and Trade Unionists have entered or re-entered the debate - namely Audrey Wise, Hugh Scanlon, Jack Jones and Tony Benn. All have spoken at its Annual Conferences and have published pamphlets. Yet it should not be implied from this that their ideas are having a significant impact on the thinking of the Labour leadership.

The official hierarchy is still



Workers at the Meriden Co-operative, Works, Coventry.

extremely dubious about workers' control and this accounts for the way the Bullock Report was quietly shelved, after it had proved embarrassingly radical.

The advocates of workers control provoked a commitment to greater industrial democracy in the Labour Party Manifesto in the 1974 elections. Then in 1975, Peter Shore announced the setting up of a Royal Commission under Alan Bullock to see how a radical extension of worker involvement might be facilitated. The Report concluded as follows:

Legislation was necessary, but should be flexible enough to allow experimentation. Employees should be allowed representatives on the Boards of Companies employing 2,000 or more workers and worker-directors would share equal responsibility. They would be elected via the trade union machinery and would not have to relinquish their Union offices. Boards under this scheme would comprise an equal number of workers and shareholder representatives plus an extra element, chosen by the other two groups, of an odd number of other directors.

Nevertheless the report went

further than was palatable for the business community. It provoked hostility from the CBI and individual employers' associations. This was tantamount to refusal to co-operate with any such schemes. But more important the Government reaction was like-warm and the subsequent White Paper 'Industrial Democracy' politely but firmly rejected the report, saying it had illuminated the major issues but had aroused sharp divisions of views. In fact, having no ideas of its own, the Government had hoped that through a Royal Commission of Inquiry a consensus would emerge. This failed to materialise so the Government had to pick out those elements least likely to offend.

Ownership

Collective bargaining is now seen as the only practical weapon for the industrial democrat, because it can make extensions and inroads into management prerogatives. But this fails to resolve the fundamental problem of ownership. The extension of collective bargaining does not give workers the ownership of firms plant and industries. Moreover the workers themselves perceive collective bargaining as

an industrial weapon and part of the traditional protective role of trade unions. There seems no general desire to take it one stage further as a political instrument. Objectives are limited and when official unionists talk of an increase or improvement in industrial democracy it tends to be based on a desire to improve the lot of the workers in a particular industry, with little regard for the wider social or political context.

The major political parties and leading trade unions are antipathetic to the idea of any major shift towards greater workers' control, so centralisation has triumphed over decentralisation. Similarly the trade unions have resisted pressure to go beyond their traditional defensive roles. Collaboration with management would involve having to defend members against policies which they have to implement. Gains to be made through collective bargaining can only be slow and gradual. And, taking place in a predominantly private enterprise economy, are ultimately limited. The confrontation of the ownership issue is vital if advances are to be made.



It's rather difficult to write an Agitprop column for the first issue of a new paper, so the information below has been stolen from Freedom, Peace News, The Leveller, the London Weekly amongst others.

FREEZOM Anarchist fortnightly 20p - 84b Whitechapel High Street. The anarchist elderstatesperson intelligent, internal debate and information. Small sized newspaper.

ANARCHY Anarchist Magazine 20p 37A Grosvenor Avenue, London N5 - 01 559 4794

BLACK FLAG Anarchist newspaper 20p - published by Black Flag. Over the Water, Sunday, Orkney, KW7 2BL. Less than monthly, since they decided to come out fortnightly.

SOLIDARITY FOR SOCIAL REVOLUTION Libertarian socialist theoretical journal 20p Publications Secretary, 23, Latham Rd. London E6. Produced in turn by different collectives.

BREAD AND ROSES News Journal of the Anarchist Communist Association. 15p Irregular. Box 2, 136 Kingsland High Street, London E2 2NS - large format

ANARCHIST LONDON WEEKLY occasional! newspaper - Metropolitan Warehouse, Wapping Wall, Wapping London. tel 01 488 0602 (thurs day night).

LIBERTARIAN COMMUNIST paper of the 'Libertarian Communist' group. 15p - 27, Clerkenwell Close. London EC1. Irregular. Superbly printed.

PEACE NEWS Anarcho-pacifist 20p Fortnightly. 8, Elm Avenue, Nottingham - 0602 53587. Well produced.

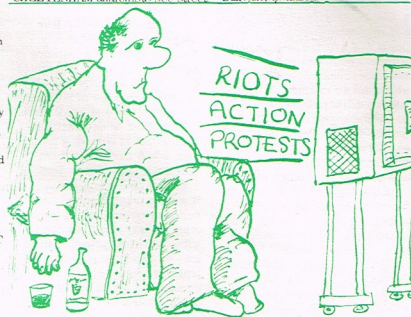
REBEL Irish Anarchist Paper. 10p - 5, Hennetta Street, Dublin.

OPEN ROAD Canadian Anarchist/Anarcha-feminist news journal. Every three months. Box b135, Station G, Vancouver, BC, Canada. Well produced with good international news. The second best anarchist paper in English!

SEARCHLIGHT hardly anarchist, but the best analysis of Fascism. Monthly magazine. AF & P Publications, 21, Great Western Buildings, 6 Livery Street, Birmingham 3 - 35p

REVOLUTIONARY UNION NEWS and **WORLD LABOUR NEWS** two news sheets produced by the Industrial Workers of the World in Leeds and Oldham respectively. Free. IWW P.O. Box 48 Oldham.

EVENTS 6th November - London WC2 - CAAI London Group Meeting. Friends Meeting House, St Martins Lane 8pm 8th & 22nd November - East London Gay Liberation Front Meetings. Back Bar, Duke of Pife pub, in Katharine Rd, Forest Gate - E7



solers, 1100-130 Saturday mornings
Boots Corner, High St.
COVENTRY John England, Students Union, University of Warwick,
DERBY Collaborators welcome.
Contact Andrew Huckerly, 49 Westleigh Ave., Derby DE3 3BY tel. 365675.
EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians.
Martyn Everett, 11 Gileon Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.
EDINBURGH anarchists meet 8pm on Monday at First of May Bookshop.
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Martyn Everett, 11 Gileon Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.
EDINBURGH anarchists meet 8pm on Monday at First of May Bookshop, 45 Niddrie St., Edinburgh.
EXETER Anarchists Soc. Univ. of Exeter, Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter.
GLASGOW Anarchist Group. Initially, weekly meetings. For further information contact John Cooper, 34 Rathburn Avenue, Coatmilk, G45
GREENWICH & BEXLEY syndicalist group, John Ryan, 47 Binsey Walk London SE2 8TU
HASTINGS Anarchist group, Solstice 127 Bohemia Rd., St. Leonards-on-sea Sussex tel. 0424 429537
HIGH BENTHAM Ask at the Dragonfly on Saturdays
HUDDERSFIELD meetings every 2 weeks For details tel. 0484 38156 (Politechnic Students Union)
HULL Libertarian collective
16 Park Grove, Hull
LEAMINGTON & WARWICK c/o 42 Bath Street Leamington Spa.
LEEDS 189 Hyde Park Road, LS6
LEICESTER anarchist group
Lyn Hurst 41 Briarfield Drive tel. 0533 2250 (days) 0533 41080 (night) Bookshop Blackthorn 76 Highcross St. 0533 21896
HACKNEY anarchists Dave tel. 249 7042
KINGSTON Anarchist 13 Denmark Rd Kingston-upon-Thames tel 549 2564
LONDON Workers group Box W c/o Rising Press
WEST LONDON Anarchists 7 Pennard Road W2
MALVERN & WORCESTER area Jack Spence, Birchwood Hall, Storridge, Malvern Worcs
MANCHESTER c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Rd. M1. Soon to be changed.
MID-SUSSEX & SOUTH COAST anarchists c/o Resources Centre, North Rd. Brighton E. Sussex
NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE
Black Jake c/o 12 Westgate Road, NE2
NOTTINGHAM c/o Mushroom 10 Hout-hote St tel 582506 or 1 5 Scotholme Av., Hyson Green
OLDHAM Nigel Broadbent, 31 Cooke St. Failsworth Manchester.
OXFORD Anarchist group c/o Danny Simpson, Exeter College. Anarchist Workers group ditto.
Anarcho-Feminists c/o Teresa Thom hill 34 Divinity Rd.
PORTSMOUTH Caroline Cahn, 25 Albany Rd., Southsea Hants.
READING Anarchists c/o Shevek, Clubs Office, Student Union, White-knights, Reading, Berks.
SHEFFIELD Anarchists c/o Havelock Square, 5-10
SHEFFIELD Libertarian Society.
PO Box 85, Sheffield S11 5SE
SWANSEA Don Williams, 24 Derwyn, Darnest, Swansea.

SWINDON area. Contact Mike, Groundswell Rm, Upper Stratton, Swindon, Wilts
WESTON-SUPER-MARE Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Road KENT Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Rd., Ramsgate: Jim Endesby 70 Beaulieu
N. E. Anarchist Federation.
16 Park Grove, Hull
SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation Nina Woodcock, 74 Arklay St. Dundee tel 814541
DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT
National grouping of class struggle anarchists. contact:
DAM, 28, Lucknow Drive, Sutton-in-Ashfield, Nottinghamshire Groups in various towns.
ANARCHIST COMMUNIST ASSOCIATION. National grouping of class struggle anarchists. contact:
Box 2, 136 Kingsland High Street London E2 2NS.
Groups in various towns and contact with DAM elsewhere.
SOLIDARITY a libertarian communist group. contact 123 Latham Rd. London E6

USEFUL TELEPHONE NUMBERS

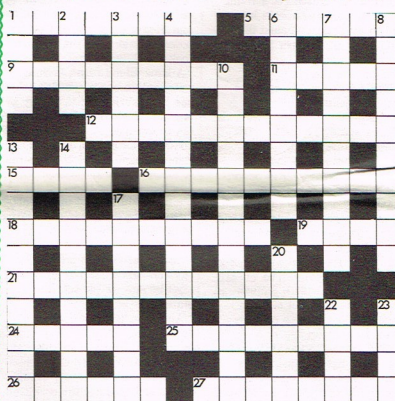
Gay Switch Board 01 537 7324 - 24 hour phone service for homosexual information, entertainment guide, medical and legal referrals, flat sharing, or just a chat.

Rape Crisis Centre 01 340 6145 - 24 hour service. Information and advice Birmingham Rape Crisis Centre no running 24 hour counselling service for women who have been raped or sexually attacked. 021 233 2222 (24 hrs) or 021 233 2655 (10-6pm week days)

Squatters Advisory Service 01 359 1 RELEASE 01 259 123 - Information and advice about Drugs, the law, housing and women's rights. Emergency 24 hour service 01 603 8654.

To help us to complete this page send information to Box 151, Rising Free, 82 Upper Street, Islington, London N1.
The next issue will be out in time for the January sales, so it would be helpful to have all details in by mid-December.

Xtra-hard Xword



ACROSS

1. Erection is a confine on Scots Air Force (8)
5. He governed Egypt with capital on credit (6)
9. Labour youth leader becomes in end navy A.B. (4, 5)
11. County to sever South African link (5)
12. At Rialto. W1 star comes good with tailored repartee (9, 3)
15. Basil one amongst her boys (4)
16. Villainous Edward a despoiler devious creature (7, 3)
18. Sweet to private enterprise (but he's a square to us!) (6, 4)
19. An old Slav in the conservatory (4)
21. Isn't Sid's clay what rebuilds the I.W.W. for example? (12)
24. Two of us with boy in Greek epic (5)
25. French name in Alistair, perhaps, on face or it. (9)
26. Exodus of Irish revolutionaries to follow some Hegel (6)
27. Commercial writing which follows (8)

'Xtra!' in its manifold generosity has decided to give a fiver and a years subscription to anyone who correctly completes this crossword (snigger). Just send the completed crossword to our box number.

DOWN

1. A sore point for strikers (4)
2. Bad load is part of success for Red Brigades (4)
3. Marvellous boy for Sidney and Beatrice (6)
4. Red hot conservative with links which give some pull (8, 5)
6. Is repeated in red regime (8)
7. Part of Millwall or Kerry provides employment (10)
8. Again and again concerning the little French I have (10)
10. Short night missile is filled up, gives slight edge (6, 7)
13. Christ! See Sham hit is something new (3, 7)
14. Delivering, before dispatch (10)
17. Call back about babysitter? (8)
20. The cinema becomes, in retrospect, of the national culture (6)
22. French town in imperial bishopric (4)
23. Fancy steaks give me bladder trouble (4)

by Reklaw

The Country's Biggest Seller!
(but it's getting nowhere in the towns)

**'Poisonous atmosphere' at
building, says infiltrator**

**Inquiry row over
NF 'smash the
reds' leaflet
How an anarchist
'mole' joined NF**

**Spy mole tells
how he
penetrated NF
headquarters**

**Weapons stored in Front's
headquarters, inquiry told
SPY WAS TAKEN
ON A TOUR OF
EXCALIBUR HOUSE**

It is rare that an Anarchist hits the headlines, even rarer that headlines like these are the result of an article in an Anarchist paper. The last issue of Xtra! contained a detailed analysis of the inside of the National Front Headquarters. Members of Hackney Trades Council read the article and Simon Read (one of our Structureless Tyrants) found himself giving evidence at Hackney Town Hall on Tuesday 11th of December.

The evidence represented quite a coup in that no real facts had been given, about what actually went on inside Excalibur House. A detailed map was supplied showing all the floors and incidents were described which demonstrated the nature of the Front and their use of the building.

The Front are claiming firstly that Excalibur house is not really their Headquarters. And secondly that it is only used for distribution of publications and publicity material such as ties and T-shirts.

The nature of the Front was also rather aptly demonstrated when Sid Chaney (Islington NF member) interrupted the evidence to say that he would smash the witnesses face in if he repeated his suggestion that Sid could possibly produce leaflets inciting people to violence.

The cross-examination of Simon by Mr Anthony Reed-Herbert (the Front solicitor) was a total disaster for the Front. When he pointed out that Simon could not possibly have been in the headquarters because he had missed out some toilets and a pillar, even the Inspector pointed out how unreasonable that was.

Reed-Herbert also claimed that only Verrall had the key to the second floor. Again this was questioned, because Verrall claimed that he only attended on a few days. When at the end of his examination Anthony suggested that the evidence was all a Jewish/Communist Plot, concocted by Simon and Hackney Trades Council even the Inspector looked at him rather wearily.

Perhaps the high spot of Simon's evidence came when Anthony was talking about National Front products. Simon pointed out that he was wearing an Excalibur House tie which had been sold to him by Reed-Herbert himself.

XTRA! GOT 'EM!

The JANUARY 1980 Issue 30p

On Monday, 3rd December (the eve of the Department of the Environment Inquiry into the Front's use of Excalibur House) a march was held to protest about the Front presence in the area.

Organised by Hackney Trades Council and consisting of about eight hundred local people, it marched to Hackney Town Hall where a meeting was held in front of three coffins, symbolising the three local racist murders.

Although routed to pass 73, Great Eastern St. it was diverted a few yards short of the headquarters. The Front had obviously been told to keep clear to avoid adverse publicity and the only member seen was their photographer.



The Police and a few demonstrators against Excalibur House

ANARCHISTS AT WESTMINSTER

On the 28th November, Anarchists and Autonomists disrupted a Labour Party Mass Meeting. That Saturday there had been the big Anti-cuts March, with about 50,000 people marching from Hyde Park to Westminster, though perhaps marching is too strong a report given the strong Labour Party stewarding of the March.

Culminating (for the first section of the march anyway) in a mass meeting of Labour Party stalwarts in Westminster Hall. Altogether there were about eight hundred people at the meeting.

Fight the cuts! Join the Labour Party! was the slogan, but some of us could remember the previous winter of Labour Party cuts. This smell of rank hypocrisy seemed to bear down on a (rather quiet) body of Labour Party members.

However, vociferous opposition came from about 40 anarchists and autonomists who had carved themselves a niche in the centre of the meeting hall. Groups represented included the Monday Group, Oxford Anarchists and the

London Workers Group. They responded to the platitudes with slogans like: "we want a General Strike" and "Traitors!"

It was this disruption which roused the Party faithful where Callaghan could not. Out, Out! they screamed, still sitting on their chairs. The disruptors grew in confidence and eventually the Labour Party stewards got the nod and they waded in, where the Monday Group (at least) responded in kind.

When the police drifted in, the anarchists left, still shouting their slogans. The stewards had been mystified by the identity of their victims. "They can't be SWP!" I heard one say, incredulously. Too right, the SWP are going through their popular front stage so they are unable to voice the anger and resentment at the betrayals and hypocrisy of the British Labour Party. It was the anarchists who hit the headlines (albeit unexplained) but next we'll be better organised - and there'll be more of us.



Labour Party stewards hustle a protesting postman out of the Westminster Hall meeting

WOMANPOWER

Anarcha-feminist Conference: reflection and restatement

'Anarchism equals chaos.'

Indeed the superficial impression given by the Anarchist Feminist Weekend...was just that'. (Guardian 10/12/79).

'...anarcho or anarcha-feminism, the confused and inconsistent thinking of those who are sympathetic to both anarchism and 'women's lib' (letter, December Black Flag).

The most misunderstood section of both the anarchist and feminist movements met at London's Centro Iberico over the weekend of the 7th-9th December. And with women from all over Britain and many parts of the world it could claim to be a fair sample of anarcha-feminist thinking.

Organised events included life drawing, video, astrology, printing and discussions on women in institutions and squatting. But for many women the important thing was being there, exchanging ideas, problems and life-styles.

Yet these in themselves led to disagreements. 'Why', asked one woman aggressively at the general Saturday afternoon session, 'is there a session on astrology...what the fuck has that got to do with anarchism?'

This was the woman who, later described herself as a 'class struggle anarchist. And the division between these and the women stressing personal politics became an important focus for discussion.

In fact only one or two women stressed their feminism to the point of separatism. And their views were aggressively challenged. No-one attacked living a lesbian lifestyle, but they did attack the arrogance of believing it to be the only way to personal freedom.

But if this was the extreme of personal politics, the extreme of class struggle anarchism seemed to be no more acceptable to most of the women. The woman contemptuous of astrology was firmly told that anarchism includes everything.

The same argument came up again at the mixed Conway Hall meeting on sexism in the Anarchist movement. And I for one don't believe it was a Black Flag misprint that advertised it as 'sex in the anarchist movement' - the obvious contempt of the (almost exclusively male) class struggle anarchists prevented the meeting from ever getting down to titled discussion. In the end it didn't matter, because the meeting made it clear just where the misunderstandings lie in the first place.

'What do you think of Mrs Thatcher?' asked one man. The women laughed, shaking their heads. 'She's a leader' someone replied. But some of the men were genuinely worried about the relationship between bourgeois and anarcha feminism. It was almost a pity they hadn't heard the women together discussing their feelings of isolation in the women's movement precisely because of their anarchism. 'We don't want matriarchy, we want anarchism', said one woman. 'And we do recognise that women have a personal responsibility too. Mrs Thatcher didn't have to choose to be what she is'.

But at times we might have been talking different languages. 'This is just therapy' jeered one man. 'A load of crap'. Yet it was attitudes like this that one woman described as being the reason she felt 'safer' with other women. And many women expressed the belief that they actually contributed to sexism in the movement through their reluctance to challenge accepted male practice.

So couldn't these men see why women needed to meet alone? It was obvious most of them didn't - even if none of them were prepared to say so outright. But several of the men made it plain they were with the women. And it was no co-incidence they were from men's groups.

One man spoke of his personal fears and insecurities as a man. The women listened nodding. But again the class struggle anarchist broke in - he didn't want to hear this personal rubbish. He wanted to know how we going to make the revolution. It seemed that class and class alone was the battle to fight. He didn't quite, though he meant it, say that feminism and personal politics in general just 'divide' the anarchist movement.

But in the end he could not answer the challenge from the women. Show us the anarchist movement! And we will show you a feminist movement that does exist and continues to grow. But why aren't you on the streets, he wanted to know. If you help us arrange places for our children to stay while we're there, came the reply. Finally he made the most telling comment of all - 'I can't see what childcare has to do with sexual politics'.

The most rewarding discussions took place amongst the women. As one man at Conway Hall put it - 'when men talk they compete with ideas. When women talk they express thoughts wrapped up with feelings'. The women were honest with each other. And most of them would share that honesty with men, if they were sure they wouldn't be ignored, or laughed at.

But that doesn't mean they only think about personal politics. All the women I met were involved in something - the anarchist press, communes, squats, the anti nuke movement, claimant's unions, free festivals, battered women's refuge centres, self-help groups and straight anarchist groups. They don't, contrary to popular belief, just spend their time bewailing lack of career, financial and coital equality. And they emerged from the conference stronger as people



I am angered by the lack of imagination, humour and emotion of most left wing men. The ones who blandly listen to my arguments, my beliefs, and tell me my struggle is divisive.

Like the woman in 'Life of Brian' who rages at the assembled committee - let's DO something! - only to be met with a tutting John Cleese turning back to his smug male comrades.

On the Corrie demo groups of women took their places at the front of the march. It's our struggle. But the union hierarchies weren't the only men to object. I met libertarian men who tutted, smugly 'pointing out' it was a trades union march.

But whose rights were being championed? I went thinking it was my rights as a woman. Sorry, my mistake. This abortion thing's all very well, I was told, but of course men should have a say too...

The number of men with 'conscious objections' (sorry, unconditional but critical support...) must have been staggering.

But what women have is real anger and belief in their struggle. And they have learnt in practice what men always write about - the value of solidarity and libertarian organisation.

Rebellions and revolutions were started through gut reactions to injustice, not through ideolo-



XTRA~MARITAL

Sex is a wonderful thing.

We hear about it all the time, read about it, it debauches it, sell it, analyse it and mystify it. However, despite its popularity we are, after all these years, of practising it, still remarkably inept at preventing its side effects.

How can you have fun when for all you know, you may some time after be presented with nausea, obesity, redundancy and pain and finish up with a useless lump of soggy protoplasm for your trouble?

Never mind 'abortion: a woman's right to choose!' what we should be saying is 'conception: a woman's right to choose'.

The wonderers of modern science have persistently attacked the problem like a bull in a maternity ward. Could the fact that most medical research is done by (yes, you guessed it!) men, with the few women well down the decision making order, have anything to do with it?

Ever since camel dung went out of fashion, the number of choices of contraception methods women have had has been totally underwhelming. They can easily be summed up in a few words: 'designed by men'.

The 'cap' may seem a wonderful idea, (shut the little buggers out) but if men had to stick something with the relative size of a 10p piece up their arses everytime they made love, sex would soon go out of fashion.

How many men would be prepared to do likewise with a piece of irregularly shaped plastic and leave it there for months, with stabbing pains and continuous bleeding. Nobody even knows exactly how coils work. There's a simple experiment you can try though, swallow one and see what it does to your digestion.

You can, of course get a modern version with a nice coating of copper to foetus's albumin that 'fried egg' look. If you don't mind having potentially poisonous and carcinogenic material in your uterus. (Actually they're meant to be safe, according to tests on rats and the like, done after women started using them).

hailed as God's gift to women, but I never did believe in God. Taking the pill is a bit like working in an asbestos factory to prevent yourself dying, old age, it's still safer than crossing the road, but then again so is working in an asbestos factory.

However, all is not lost. Giant leaps are being made by medical research aiming to save the world (and make quick buck before the side effects are discovered).

The problem with the pill is that while progesterone has a wonderful effect on your sexual organs it doesn't do the rest of you much good.

Regular taking of a large oral dose of a potent drug just can't be good news. What is wanted is small doses of hormone, applied to specific parts of your body. Well that now seems possible.

A capsule made of a silicone-rubber material, containing the hormone, can be implanted either in your vagina or uterus, (or just simply subcutaneous if you don't want to go the whole hog). The hormone slowly and continuously diffuses out through the membrane and works on the specific target organs with little or none of it passing into the general blood circulation.

It can stay there for months without attention and without any side effects. No blood clotting or depression. No forgetting to take it. No long-term worries about health as the low circulating dosage of hormone is close to the natural level.

It should soon be possible to have a once year injection of a capsule into a safe site in your uterus or vagina and then go away and forget about it. At least until next year.

If this method of contraception lives up to its promise, women may at last be able to feel that their bodily functions are their own to control and not something to cause them to live like a semi-invalid.

Of course some fool is going to suggest research into methods of temporarily sterilising men, by physical or chemical techniques. But science, being what it is, weirdo ideas like that seldom catch on.



Anarchism and Fascism the Italian connection

In its rejection of political parties and exclusive concern with economic conflicts, revolutionary syndicalism can claim to be the purest form of working class struggle.

Yet syndicalist writers had an important influence on fascism, particularly in Italy. And some even joined the movement, remaining life-long adherents.

It is not that syndicalism had a decisive influence on the rise of fascism, nor is it any more to blame than any other ideologies. As Mussolini, himself a renegade marxist, wrote in 1919, fascism had become the 'refuge of all heretics, the church of all heresies'.

But a number of liberal scholars have gone too far in stressing the similarities. Syndicalism is a philosophy based on the action of combative trade unionism. Therefore you should study the activities of militant syndicalists to get a true picture. Syndicalism is not like Marxism - which looks to the theories of men as a guide to revolutionary practice.

This poses a problem for those who look no further than the printed page for enlightenment. They turn to those social commentators who latched onto the movement, impressed by the dynamism and creative force that syndicalism represented.

Many, influenced by Nietzsche, recognised the inadequacy of Marxism's mechanically deterministic analysis of history. And they created new theories of social struggle, stressing the creative force by which individuals can transform a historical situation.

But while Georges Sorel ('a disinterested friend of the proletariat', he called himself) did influence many Italian working-class intellectuals, there is far more to be discovered about the nature of syndicalism in the activities of a syndicalist camera del lavoro (literally, chamber of labour) than in 'Reflexions sur la violence'.

Italian syndicalism reached the apex of its achievements in the biennio rosso (two red years) of 1919-20. Whilst Gramsci and co. were performing intellectual somersaults to reconcile council communism with Lenin's 'Left Wing Communism', the syndicalists were making spectacular gains. By 1919 the membership of the main anarcho-syndicalist union, USI, reached 300,000. By the end of 1920 it could claim 800,000. The occupied factories were buried beneath a sea of red and black flags.

The syndicalists above all captured militant working class opinion which the socialist movement was utterly failing to channel. In the summer of 1920, the socialist movement was moving further from revolution, its communist minority trapped in conflict and nullity. The hunger for action found expression in syndicalist styles. They were there, calling for intransigence, self-help, action; they had their device - the seizure of the factories and the building of a militant anti-state. (*) I will not analyse the success-

es and failures of anarcho-syndicalism as such. What interests me here is how a working class movement calling for the destruction of capitalism and the state by means of a revolutionary general strike could influence fascism.

Syndicalists and fascists were at one in their utter abhorrence of parliamentary rule. To the syndicalists, participation in parliamentary procedure implied allowing opportunists to sell the class struggle down the river. It meant strengthening the bourgeois state now, in the vague hope that socialism might be achieved in the unforeseeable future.

To the fascists, parliamentary government was the political expression of a class which had lost its heroic, warlike passion, a decadent class prepared to compromise with bolshevism in order to attain 'social peace'.

Sorel's analysis of decadent social democracy embraces both critiques: 'Two accidents alone, it seems, would be able to stop this movement: a great foreign war, which might renew lost energies, and which in any case would doubtless bring into power men with the will to govern; or a great extension of proletarian violence, which would make the revolutionary reality evident to the middle-class, and would disgust them with the humanitarian platitudes with which Jaures (*) lulls them to sleep. (*)'

It was the first world war which forced the issues. The failure of the second international to prevent war exploded the myth of international class solidarity. Confronted with a choice of neutralism or interventionism, a number of syndicalists including de Ambris and Corridoni favoured action not resignation; a UIL union federation broke from USI and attracted revolutionary patriots.

A group of syndicalists rallied round Benito Mussolini, the popular socialist whose conversion to interventionism had forced him to resign as editor of Avanti (*)4. In December 1915 they joined forces with Mussolini's followers to form the *fascio d'azione rivoluzionaria* - the germ cell of fascism.

But they were as yet merely syndicalists and socialists who supported intervention. We must examine the convergence of their ideas with the other great ideology of the epoch - nationalism - before anything specifically 'fascist' emerges. At that point nationalist struggle transcends class struggle: previously the national war was conceived as engendering the revolution; under fascism it is the revolution.

Already in 1910 Enrico Corradini had pointed the way to a possible fusion of socialist and nationalist ideologies in his address at the foundation of the

Italian Nationalist Party. He emphasised Italy's poverty, which could only be overcome by greater efforts and national militancy.

Just as there were proletarian classes which had adopted socialism, so there were proletarian nations which must adopt nationalism: 'As socialism teaches the proletariat the value of class struggle, so we must teach Italy the value of the international struggle... But if international struggle means war, well then, let there be war!'



From the 'radiant days of May' in 1915, when the belligerent interventionists fought internationalists in the streets of Rome, until the armistice and its aftermath, certain former syndicalists found themselves working with the most obnoxious chauvinists.

Thus during the occupation of Fiume by the legionaries of the nationalist poet D'Annunzio, a new political and economic constitution was drawn up by the syndicalist Alceste de Ambris. It had a distinctly syndicalist flavour, denouncing parasites and praising the producer, emancipating women and creating autonomous syndicates; but - and here is the departure - it introduced the cult of the state.

As fascism took off in the years 1921-22, former syndicalists fought in the ranks of the *fasci di combattimento*, smashing the organisation of their former comrades. Estimates vary about the actual number of syndicalists recruited - Glyn Williams reckons

the figure to be as high as 5,000, organised into 50 *fasci*. One of the greatest mistakes of the socialist movement was failing to establish an alliance with the leftist *fasci*; they were not all necessary reactionary.

The fascist terror began as a nationality war in Trieste and Friuli, areas disputed with the Yugoslavs. Competition with socialists became bitter. The punitive gangs were filled with frustrated recruits from the middle and lower classes, who directed their attacks against socialists and syndicalist centres. After an unrelenting onslaught from the workers since the war, industrialists and farmers were only too keen to lend what financial support they could. Organisationally the fascist

cause of the defeat of socialism lies in its having allowed itself to be won over to the optimistic ideas of democracy, we can see that the truth of syndicalism lies precisely in its longstanding opposition to democratic optimism and socialist materialism, and in its tireless advocacy of developing a proletarian consciousness which despises the sickly and corrupt mentality of the bourgeoisie'.

The sorelian influence is obvious in the writings of Curzio Malaparte, who spoke for the extremist wing of the fascist party. In his writings he urges the necessity of suffering, hoping to engender a sense of heroism. He draws on the elitist aspect of syndicalism - the idea of a fighting vanguard of militant workers - to conclude that the national revolution must be imposed from above.

The syndicalists recognised the proletariat must take up the task of completing the national revolution, abandoned by the bourgeoisie since 1870. Thus he writes in 'Mussolini and National Syndicalism': 'From the economic and social sphere, the revolutionary action of the syndicalists moved naturally over into the historical and national sphere'.

In 1917 Lenin swept to power in Russia largely on the strength of the anarchistic programme outlined in the April thesis. But his primary aim was to attain power and hold it as a dictator by means of terror.

Fascism, though fundamentally reactionary, was founded on revolutionary demands. Without wishing to take this too far, this points to one conclusion: namely that demagogues will seize on any current popular political philosophy, no matter how libertarian or revolutionary, if they believe it will serve their own authoritarian ends.

A further conclusion can be drawn. At the height of the revolutionary movement the celebrated Italian anarchist Errico Malatesta said: 'If we do not go on to the end, we shall have to pay with bloody tears for the fear we are now causing the bourgeoisie'.

But the most horrific feature of the counter revolution was the part played by former socialists and syndicalists. Revolutions are not won by half measures; a revolutionary movement that gets bogged down in inaction causes frustration, desertions and gives rise to demands for an authoritarian solution. That is the real lesson of 1917 and 1922 alike.

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- 2 Leader of the French parliamentary socialists:
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This is the official Xtra! entry for the 1980 Cienfuegos Press Donald Duck/Joseph Goebbels award for liberal scholarship.



And back by popular demand.....

The Paper for the Armchair Terrorist

Issue 3 30p

WAR!

what did YOU do to stop the war Mummy?

Just another world crisis?

You may not think we're going to war, but the army does.

So, Russia has invaded Afghanistan. Well, it's not the first time they've tampered with international relations - and it won't be the last.

But this time there is the threat posed by the death of Tito. And the Army, at least, has always seen Yugoslavia as the key to world peace. A bastion of independence at the heart of the Russian sphere of influence.

The Armed forces are slowly and surely preparing themselves. There is a recruiting drive in the

territories, regular reservists have been called up on standby. And even more ludicrous, the RAF are rumoured to be going through their backfiles of past applicants, sounding out potential new recruits.

The Tory Government is a willing partner. Army income has had a real increase of three per cent, at a time when everything else is being cut. The backbenchers are agitating for conscription. They pose the question as a way of mopping up unemployment and bringing discipline back to the

younger generation. But nobody believes this is the only thought on their minds.

So why is the left so remarkably silent? Could it be the lingering belief that Russia, despite its 'flaws', is still some kind of socialist state?

Or worse, could it simply be that they have no strategy to follow in the event of war.

And yet the potential for action against conscription, not to mention sabotage, is enormous. Even if 'they' have got control of the massive network of anti-nuclear shelters.

And wouldn't it be a shame to get nuked just because some faceless bureaucrat thought Kennedy was edging ahead in the primaries.

WHAT XTRA! THINKS:

Only Xtra! has dared tell you the truth - that some day, somewhere, a war might break out.

We don't know the exact details. But one thing is certain: a war is by no means impossible.

Why the strange, sinister silence from our politicians? Are they trying to hide something from us? If they are planning a war, they could at least have the decency to tell us.

Xtra! is unequivocal on this subject. We are not in favour of war, unless it is strictly necessary. After all, people could get hurt.

And one thing's for sure. Before anyone decides to hold a war, a democratic decision on its timing location and extent should be made. After all, a Committee makes such decisions about the Olympics. And we would argue that a war is just as important.



ARRESTED!

Ronan Bennett, one of the anarchists acquitted during the Persons Unknown Trial was recently picked up by police and forced to spend an hour and a half in custody.

He had been on his way to see the band Crass, to finalise details of their benefit single for the proposed anarchist centre.

But he never got there. At 11.45 am he was picked up by uniformed police at Epping station, ostensibly 'at random' to help with enquiries about a recent local robbery.

Which didn't explain why the cops knew exactly who to go for and why Ronan was the only person picked up at the time.

Ronan thinks the answer lies in a phone-call made to Crass earlier in the day - giving them the time he'd be arriving and waiting for a lift.

He'll think twice before using the phone like that again.

RESTRICTED

SCHOOL OF INFANTRY - ALL ARMS TACTICS WING
NUCLEAR 2B
ALL ARMS DIVISIONS

CHARACTERISTICS AND EFFECTS OF NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS.

19. From the point of view of our own troops, the following main points on nuclear effects should be noted:

a) **FLASH.** Blindness, particularly by night, means a disorganised and demoralised enemy, but we must also ensure we are not blinded ourselves, either by our own or enemy missiles. Troops within 8kms of DGZ must be warned by day, and within 24kms by night.

b) **HEAT.** The effect of heat is by far the greatest hazard against troops in the open. Any form of screening, however, will give partial or complete protection against heat.

c) **BLAST.** Unless personnel are close to GZ, it has little effect on the body, but will

cause broken eardrums. However, casualties will be produced by flying debris and, depending on the area, may be severe. It will also affect weapons, instruments etc, by blowing dust and debris into them.

d) **RADIATION.** Immediate and residual, depending on the type of explosion. The radius of effect is less than of heat but rays penetrate all materials so that screening is more difficult.

e) **MENTAL SHOCK.** No figures are available for judging neutralisation by mental shock. Obviously there is likely to be such an effect, particularly if the burst comes as a surprise to the victims.

f) Added to the initial shock will be the scene of desolation and chaos, which confronts the soldier after the explosion.

This must have an adverse effect on morale.

New Anarchist Centre

Plans are afoot to start an anarchist centre in Central London.

The centre, brainchild of a number of groups and individuals in London, is envisaged as a social and meeting place on the lines of political clubs in Europe and Northern Ireland. And it is hoped to include a bar.

Crass and Poison Girls are releasing a single and profits will be donated to the centre. It should be hitting the streets this month (see Crass interview). Meanwhile premises are being finalised and donations will be gratefully received c/o Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1.

INSIDE:



CATERING



SHOPPING



CRASS



LUMPS



AND THE REST

SHOPLIFTING

A Guide For The Revolutionary Consumer

Shoplifting is a growth sector in the crime industry. It occurs in all parts of the country on a vast and ever-increasing scale. In this Xtra-probe we look at the methods commonly used by shoplifters and the reasons they exist.



Shoplifting was first declared as a crime in the preamble to the Act of Parliament (1698) of William III. The penalty for 122 years was death. In 1820, liberal do-gooders finally had this changed to deportation for life.

In the 19th century, shoplifting was a specialist occupation and the punishment was severe. But it occurred on a large scale: '...both children and adults continued to steal, almost as if there were no punishment for it, indicating that even the most horrific of the 19th century punishments had no deterrent value, except in the minds of the legislators.'

(Shoplifting, by DP Walsh 1978) The style of the shop changed over the years and it is evidently due to the widespread nature of shoplifting in the 19th century, that everything was behind a counter. Hence there was always a physical barrier between the potential shoplifter and the goods; either the shopkeeper or the counter.

So shoplifting became an art, and part of the subculture where crime was a way of life and people would steal anything. A 'cat burglar' was a person who stole 'cats', a slang term for pint beer mugs!

It seems likely that in the 'good old days' poverty was one of the main causes of shoplifting, but now that is not so. The main group of offenders is, as you might expect, young people and children. They do not steal to live, but rather to acquire luxury goods that society tells them they must have to be happy.

The nature of the shop itself plays a large part in causing shoplifting. In the past and now to some extent, shopkeepers have en-

couraged sales by displaying goods outside the shop in market stall fashion. This so encouraged shoplifters in the 19th century that local magistrates called for this practice to be banned by law.

Greed is now the major cause of shoplifting; the greed of the shop manager who increases sales by cultivating 'impulse buying' with provocative product layout and ipso facto increasing the shoplifting. Very little shoplifting occurs in small owner-run, counter service shops.

So can society really be surprised that people steal goods on open display? Advertising, for example appears to remind and tell people that all forms of contentment and gratification are only possible through the acquisition of particular material goods. Ownership of a particular artefact is equated with happiness. This materialist emphasis is intensified as customers are exhorted to buy, own and have, a good, in a

variety of ingenious and subtle ways.

Society teaches us that material possessions are what life is all about. You are meant to work hard at school so you can get a 'good job' (one with high pay). But it is not the pound notes you are tempted with it's the consumable or permanent goods you can buy with them. And the person with no possessions is a failure. It is no longer 'was it ever?' 'the thought that counts'.

The attitude of bourgeois revolutionaries to the subject is some what paradoxical. They call for large scale 'nationalisation without compensation' or 'expropriation of the means of production'. But they condemn individuals who do just that on a small scale, because it's stealing! The people who work in factories all day and are paid a fraction of the selling price of the products are the real victims of crime. Those who take back what is theirs are not to be condemned.

WHY, HOW, WHO...?

Q) WHY DO PEOPLE STEAL THINGS?

'People steal things for excitement; because they are waiting a long time in a queue and it's easier to steal than buy; because they need something they can't afford and even half by accident when they realise they're concealing something'.

The main reasons though are because prices are too high and profits are too high. I'll rip off anybody who rips me off.

'You see morality doesn't come into it. Nearly everyone I know has stolen things from shops at one time or another, or could if they weren't too nervous'.

Q) HOW DO YOU DO IT?

'There are loads of ways of stealing. You can put a jacket around one shoulder and pass things under it to your hand there. You can put flat things like books under your arm, under your coat, or up your jumper'.

'A lot of stuff is small enough just to go in a pocket, but otherwise a bag of any kind will do. Actually most things can just be held under a coat next to your body while you walk out'.

'You should never stare at shop assistants or potential store detectives, and never even glance at mirrors or cameras unless you would have to if you were acting naturally. Never put anything in a bag or pocket in the same area of the shop as you pick it up, unless

no one can see you'.

It's best to get familiar with the shop assistants and shops before you take much. But don't get too well-known either, or they'll wonder why you go in so often but don't buy much'.

'You can steal anything if you take your chances. I once took an eight foot plank of white contibord from the basement of a department store. The nearest till was unoccupied and the most difficult thing was getting it through the door'.

Q) WHO GETS CAUGHT?

'Once I saw an old lady collapse in a large supermarket. She'd put a frozen chicken under her hat and got hyperthermia. Then there was a guy who put 2 bottles of wine inside his cowboy boots, under flared trousers. That was fine until he tried to walk in them'.

'A lot of people who get caught are atypical of the 'average' shop lifter. Old ladies stealing tins of salmon for Tiddies and the like. Stealing luxuries is a bit of a waste of time when there are expensive necessities you can get'.

Q) WHAT ABOUT SHOPOWNERS?

'If the shopowners can afford not to work in the shop then they can afford to lose a few items. I never steal from a small owner operated shop. No one ever suffers because of my shoplifting'.

'Shoplifting is 90% confidence, 5% determination and 5% practice'.

NEW UNION FORMED

Britain's newest union, the Amalgamated National Union of Shoplifters (ANUS) has come up with what it describes as 'a radical charter extending the rights of shoplifters everywhere' and which it is pressuring the Government to adopt into British law.

ANUS, which boasts of possessing over 50 million members, describes itself as an organisation which seeks to protect the livelihood of ordinary, decent shoplifters everywhere at a time when their fundamental rights and liberties are under increasingly vicious attack.

Examples of these attacks include 'astronomical increases in shoplifting fines, outstripping by a long way the rate of inflation' - causing a 'massive slump' in thefts in the last year; the 'increasing battery of security devices such as cameras and mirrors which unfairly tip the balance of advantage in favour of the shopowner against the lifter'; and the 'filthy propaganda spewed out by the gutter-press which attempts to depict the shoplifter as some kind of criminal, which naturally distracts attention from the real anti-social menace in society today - admittedly a small and decreasing minority, but one that cannot be ignored - the people who actually pay for goods in shops, and who are thus responsible for

propping up the present iniquitous social order'.

So what does ANUS's charter consist of? Simply titled 'Try some nick some' it spells out what it calls the Eleventh and Twelfth Commandments (which were inexplicably stolen from Moses): No. 11 - Thou shalt not pay, and No. 12 - Thou shalt not get caught. It seeks to define the limits (if any) to shoplifting, with reference to the size of stores, personal wealth (though some hard-line members of ANUS have angrily described this as 'vicious means-testing which hits the rich hardest'), and the ease with which goods can be ripped off.

On the latter aspect, ANUS expresses concern about the 'very real difficulties involved in taking some object simply because of their size. Colour televisions for instance, are not easy - let alone inconspicuous - to carry under one's overcoat'. One possible solution might be to 'place such awkward objects outside shops, so that the customer will have a much better chance of running to his car or bus without being seen'.

Finally, the charter calls for better education about shoplifting in schools. 'All too often, parents are too embarrassed to talk to their children about such a subject, with the result that some children reach their teens - a time

when thieving instincts grow particularly strong - knowing no more about the subject than what they have overheard from their friends.

As a result they can suffer from severe feelings of guilt about something which is perfectly natural and wholesome. Since there is absolutely no reason why kids shouldn't indulge in this activity from the age of, say, five or six, it is imperative that this subject takes its rightful place in the school curriculum as soon as possible. Moreover, 'the subject should not be treated too clinically. Rather, it should be emphasized that it carries responsibilities, and that stealing is something which has occurred ever since Adam and Eve scurried the fruit from the Garden of Eden'.

Despite the fact that ANUS can truthfully claim to 'have the support of the British people - old Napoleon didn't call us a nation of shoplifters for nothing', it is thought unlikely that Mrs Thatcher will accept its proposals. Although the Government has no objections to stealing in principle, it feels that it is an activity which should be confined to the professionals - 'entrepreneurs, wealth-makers and parasites such as my good self', as Sir Keith Joseph so neatly put it.





CRASS!



Over the past two years CRASS have become one of the best known bands in the country. And their recognition comes not from the music press, not from Top of The Pops, not from an extensive advertising campaign, or any of that commercial crap, but from the ever-increasing number of people who go to their gigs and/or buy their records.

When I went to visit them, their double album *Stations of the Cross* was no. 1 in the alternative album charts and their first single *Reality Asylum/Shaved Women* was no. 7 in the alternative singles chart.

This was no fluke - they'd been in the charts for weeks. Even more surprising to myself and the band) the album was at 56 in the 'real charts' (and rising?) is one of them pointed out - two places above La Chic Greatest Hits.

I have mentioned the above facts, not because CRASS are 'famous' (the facts are worthless in this sense, fame is a pointless and decadent pursuit). But CRASS do everything either themselves or with friends. They've got no big company backing - CRASS records are CRASS made and produced. They even do their own stencilled graffiti.

And as a result the costs of their records have been amazingly cheap (double album £3, single 45p). The 'pay no more than £3' on the album cover has encouraged many bands to cut their costs out middle men, DIY, with the result that recently more than a crop of 'pay no more than X' stickers have appeared, inc. London Calling / CLASH), undercutting the commercial monopolies and their ridiculous £5.50 per single album.

CRASS are an anarchist band - not the fashion following types who are just anarchist because it's hip to spout anarcho-shit, but a group of people who've thought about what they think and are willing to put it into action.

HERO WORSHIP

Charles Shaar Murray writes for the NME, which came into my life on an 'educational' rip to Russia. He is one of my heroes. Asking for an interview was one way of getting to meet him and easier than doing a Joyce McKinney. As Malcolm McLaren once remarked 'No-one is innocent'.

CSM stopped having heroes the day Jimi Hendrix died - 'I suddenly realised that he was dead and I was alive'. However, he admires - unsurprisingly - Chandler, Reich, Baldwin, Mailer, Wolfe, Mik John and Pauline Kael. A search for diamonds amongst the 'trash' in comic and the pulp fiction of railway newstands, he considers that the latter are not what they used to be.

We progress to Rock Journalism - he opined that it is a mixture of pulp metaphysics, criticism and journalism - a folk art.

I asked him about 'The Boy Looked at Johnny', a somewhat cynical exercise which comes to the stunningly original conclusion that it's only rock 'n' roll, but it's plastic. ('So what's new pussy-cat' mutters yours truly).

'Rock 'n' roll's an easy target which takes trash as a starting point and involves trashy ethics, trashy morals and trashy people. Still it has its moments'.

We move on to the Rock 'n' Roll Dream which CSM summarizes as 'the removal of all restraint and no-one getting hurt' which makes rock 'n' roll a metaphor to Life, with a capital L which brings us onto heroes....

CRASS anarchy is a form of militant pacifism. The group are justifiably angry about the way movements like SWP/NF (no difference) go about their business of forcing people to think the same, act the same, and follow the party line.

But not only party politics tells people what to think and how to react - religion is another Authority the band loathes - thus the titles of their records have blatantly blasphemous themes. Religions are instilled into our lives, have been for centuries and thus hold us in a form of thinking double-nelson.

The illogical mysticism religions have created (is there heaven, or will I go to hell? Is it morally right etc) are at the roots of our society and they question it. (fuck it, what do I care?). Thus *Stations of the Cross* and *CRASS and Feeding the 5,000*.

The group's beliefs are founded around a form of personal politics - people making their minds up for themselves. Finding their own questions and finding their own answers. This is where they use their self-made position in Rock music, they can create questioning through their gigs, lyrics, music and their associated magazines.

Using their position, not 'dropping out' but going out, playing gigs, making records and doing what they think. Spouting on about police harassment of blacks, the NF the government or the Royal Family, doing this and that, just alienates most people - they don't give a damn.

What CRASS, as a band and as people, try to do is encourage people to ask their own questions, question the system - not to have ready-made slogans thrust into their mouths (from the Bible, Why You Should Be A Socialist, Mein Kampf, or the Life and Times of Bakunin) if people question authority enough a government will be a mere edifice, ignored by everyone and thus totally useless.

I pointed out that 'they' (Authority) wouldn't allow it and one of the band said (sorry - no names, I forgot to ask) WE are the people of this country ('we are THEY') - just as a church isn't a building, it's the people in it. But this theory doesn't go off to the clouds. They do realise that confrontation will come one day, the Authorities won't let go that easily.

But we must conserve our energies, gain support, get people thinking. Not causing confrontation for confrontation's sake - that just alienates people. The race is just beginning, pace the running right and you'll have enough energy to kick the Authorities in the teeth when the crunch comes.

CRASS / POISON GIRLS (joint and equal venture) have put together a benefit single, *Bloody Revolution / Persons Unknown*, for the anarchist centre in London - a project they are all very enthusiastic about.

The band hope it will get into the fabulous top thirty and thus get airplay on the radio (imagine Wonderful Radio One playing all seven minutes of CRASS'S latest - even the smooth talking tones of Simon Bates couldn't make this into a 'nice' record!)

Charles Shaar Murray interviewed

The subject of sex crops up again. CSM feels that it is not feasible to sing R 'n' B songs from the '40s and '50s in the '80s. For example, Bo Diddley's 'I'm a man' was originally a proud assertion that he wasn't a 'boy'. Now, it is thoroughly out of context when sung by a white band in 1980 - sounding merely a generalised put-down of women. For this reason, CSM finds the macho attitude of certain heavy metal bands stupid and inexcusable - 'how would I feel if I was a woman' is his attitude.

To be perfectly honest, I remember hearing the song for the first time, sung by a male friend of mine who used to be in a band, and not knowing its origins or hearing the words thought that he was merely stating the obvious.

Still, enough of all this - next stop politics! Although not a political person, CSM was at Lewisham - not to throw bricks, but to demonstrate his loathing for the National Front by being there. As an ideal he says he thinks that everyone should have as much freedom as they can cope with.

The paradox of this situation is that to get into the legit charts they have to sell it at between 99p and 110p, thus creating a commercial profit. But the band are working on a scheme for selling it at a quid and possibly including a money back voucher (neat eh?). Buy this record when it's out (not on order) - even if it means ordering a pint of milk-a-day less - it's that good and important.

Finally we talked about the lousy reviews (not even that) the music press had given their records and gigs. I was scared to death before going to see them after reading that SOUNDS got Dave McCullough's hack at them. I thought the band might eat me or force acid tabs down my throat. But as CRASS pointed out, he (DMC) was just protecting his job and only wrote the piece because he made a fuck up about trying to interview them and had to cover himself.

As to the Bustell and Parsons reviews of *Feeding the 5,000*, it was just a case of them not agreeing with CRASS's attitudes and the reviews going totally over the top, to push what they thought at the time and what they thought was hip.

Those two and all that lot are just wet liberals being 'anarchist' because it's hip, spouting their shit because readers will read it, believe it and follow it - who comes first the music or the critic, the chicken or the butcher?

CRASS aren't hippies in fascistic uniforms, they're people and their answer to these fashion-making parasites is their music and their beliefs - they don't follow what's hip, they question it.

NME

He doesn't admire any politicians and although he thinks Western society is 'fucked' he wouldn't want to live in Eastern Europe or the Third World - being culturally acclimatised to good old Blighty, 'Castro was justified, but I would not want to live in Cuba'.

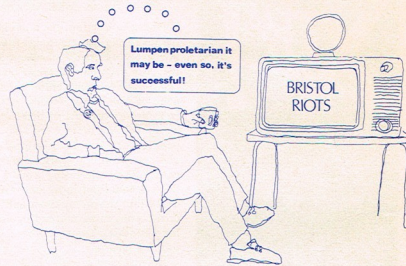
Not a revolutionary, rather a reformist, he's doing the best he can. He's enthusiastic, and waxes lyrical about the necessity of perpetual self-questioning. Trying to find the fine balance between the paralysis of self-doubt and the missionary attitude.

Finally, before I left, CSM said the reason I thought he was my hero was that we perceive things in the same way, and he just articulates them for me. Fellow sufferers rather than fellow travellers.

Apart from Jimi Hendrix, CSM admires Pauline Kael and John Wilkes 'a loud mouthed boat rocker and spiritual father of the underground Press.

And as for me - he's still one of my heroes.

XTRA!



Issue Number 4 30p

Bristol district shows the way PIGS ROUTED



St. Pauls Bristol: a little known working-class district before April 2nd 1980. But the riot that started with a police raid on the Black and White cafe showed that the police are not invincible. Where there is anger and determination they can be beaten.

The police provocation was met by massive resistance by the whole community - black, white, male and female. They fought with anything they could lay their hands on, until they forced the police out of their area.

When the police turned and ran, the youths moved in for the spoils. Taking what is theirs but what the law denies them. We were told that trolley loads of groceries, fags and booze were wheeled away, radio sets and HiFis carted back home.

Burning

Yet when it came to the bank and the post office, they were just burnt. No money was taken. Even the old ladies joined in, taking linen and telling their men what to pinch.

When we arrived on that Wednesday night, the first person we met in Sussex Sq. told us: 'This whole city's fucking stagnant. This is the best thing that could have happened to it'.

The riot was an eruption of anger and frustration that has been building up for years. That is everybody's problem, but the blacks had been deliberately picked out by the police.

not local. The black kids go to school with the white kids and get on fine. Today when they see the black kids in trouble the whites soon pitched in.'

A man at the Black and White said 'For twenty years they've been having their conferences, talking about talking and they've done fuck all for us. There is virtually nothing to do in the area, the Black and White is all people have left: They opened a 'community centre' but the place is completely sterile - too ordered. No music after-eight,

people fuss if you drop litter. It just adds to your frustration.'

Tourists

'There used to be the Caribbean Club, that was a good place. But it was such a slum that one night the floor fell in when the police raided it! The raid on the Black and White was not really to take one person. They tried to round a whole lot up. Yet another attempt to close the cafe. That was the last straw'.

When we came back to the scene next morning, the whole of Sussex Square was crawling

with journalists and film crews. They dragged out every priest, every 'community leader' and every social worker available to pass judgement. And so the 'official version' of what happened was born.

We decided to go at this point. The local kids, now ignored again, were still smirking. They had fought and won. That's all that mattered. And as a local told us, 'Maybe not this week, maybe not the next. But this will happen again. The police have treated us like shit but now they've shown their weakness'.



Latest tip: Anarchist revolution three to one against ~ ODDS SHORTENING...

Why CAPITALIST ECONOMICS spell War

Wars to end all wars, that was how the two great imperialist holocausts of this century were portrayed both before and after they took place.

The First World war was depicted by the Allies as a crusade against secret diplomacy and Prussian militarism. The Second was explained as a crusade against fascist and nazi barbarism.

After the First World war we were told that the powers would spontaneously disarm. After the Second they told us that, on the contrary, it was the very existence of stockpiles of arms which would safeguard peace.

What rubbish will they come up with after the next disaster for humanity? Already we are being prepared for the next 'crusade' with a barrage of ideological propaganda, the Russian ruling class ranting about capitalist encirclement, the Western elite about Soviet hegemonistic ambitions.

Underlying this mystification is capitalism (on both sides of the Iron Curtain), locked in a cycle of crisis, war and reconstruction. After World War II capitalism seemed to have solved its contradictions by balanced expansion of internal markets through deficit budgeting (that is, high levels of public spending) and controlled wage bargaining by 'responsible' trade unionism. But the days of peaceful reconstruction are at an end, the system has proved itself once again unstable.

Why? Capitalism must expand or collapse. Businesses must increase their rate of profit to support the capitalist class itself, to support the ever-increasing demands of its non-productive overheads (police, bureaucracy, communications and so on), and in order to compete with other businesses, whether on a local, national or supra-national level.

But there are limits to how far they can exploit workers - so rates of profit tend to fall. Therefore permitted consumption must be expanded, which means creating vast, ever-changing desires; but on the other hand obsolete plant must be replaced to increase productivity, which means consumption must be curbed to invest on an ever-increasing scale.

The short term solution is a mildly inflationary policy, which stimulates consumer demands while making cash readily available for investment. But as the demands on the economy grow, so this inflation must increase.

Inflation gives rise to ever-increasing wage demands as workers try to defend their living standards. And this can become the main threat to the whole system.

There are two possible solutions

a) a massive austerity programme to hold back consumption while capitalist stock is completely overhauled (for example by wonderful micro-chip technology)
b) war, as this will destroy masses of surplus capital and win control, it is hoped, of new markets.

Once the possibility of war is entertained, other factors accelerate the drift into conflict. The armaments industry becomes The growth industry when others are in decline - it must do, since if high quality arms are to be produced cheaply they must be produced on a massive scale, opening a new competition for outside markets.

At the same time when a government pays for the arms, it puts new pressures, as an additional overhead, on the market sectors of the economy. Arms represent an investment which demands a return - a return that can only be found by using them for imperialist plunder.

For example, when Hitler accelerated his war-course in 1937, he did so largely because the strain of rearmament demanded sacrifices by the German working-class, whose revolt could have caused the destruction of the regime.

In fact, the peaceful alternative of massive reinvestment is only an illusory one. Every time the bourgeoisie now tries to raise production it only succeeds in raising inflation. Investment in industry is unprofitable because there are high rates of interest on the money needed to invest, and uncertain, because there is deepening recession. War is ultimately the only solution.

The proletariat is the only class capable of reversing the drift to war. War can only be waged once the economic base of society is placed on a war footing. Here the trade unions have a vital role to play for capitalism disciplining the working class and putting forward phoney nationalistic palliatives (such as import controls).

The inherently revolutionary nature of the proletariat will only reveal itself when it acts autonomously of such constraints, resisting all austerity measures whether or not mediated through the unions and the 'workers' parties.

Only then can the permanent tendency of capitalism towards war be reversed; only when capitalism in its totality is swept from the face of the earth to be replaced by a human community producing for need and not artificially created desires, will the scourge of war disappear altogether.

The preparations for imperialist war must be overtaken by class war - and the destructive capacity of the capitalist powers makes this an absolute necessity.

FARE DODGING Inter-City Savers 100 % off

Is it all a terrifying right-wing plot? These fare increases, I mean. London Transport has increased bus and tube fares three times in less than a year. And now they're asking the GLC to make motorists pay more.

When, I ask, are they going to put a tax on humble cyclists and pedestrians? For at the present rate of increase, most of us will be forced into the latter category before long. And immobility of the general population is just what the Tories need.

However, there is another way. It's called fare-dodging. And you can choose just how much - or how little - you are prepared to pay though obviously this depends on how daring you are.

☉ tubes

Take the London Tube for instance. At one extreme of riskiness, all you do is buy the cheapest ticket available. And at the other end of your journey you hand in your ticket - and walk on briskly. I've always found this easiest when there are masses of other people (rush-hour is obviously the best time). And if you can manage to hand in your ticket when the ticket collector is engaged with someone else paying an 'excess fare' (or refusing to do so) chances are that s/he won't notice you.

If you need to travel on the Tube alot, however (eg to go to work), a season ticket becomes a regrettable necessity - because there's no way that you can get past the same ticket-collector at the same stop without the proper ticket several times a week. You will be remembered - and fined heavily when caught. BUT a season ticket CAN enable you to travel everywhere else virtually free - I reckon I save maybe two or three quid a week this way (sometimes more). How? Quite simply, holding up a season ticket enables you to get past most collectors.

A few hints here. Do NOT look furtive and guilty. Look the collector straight in the eye (it might even stop him/her from looking at your ticket when there is a large

crowd of people - there is no way that the collector can inspect all the tickets closely. If people are not going through the barrier single file (this is often the case), make sure you're as far away from the collector as possible - quite apart from the fact that s/he won't be able to see your ticket so easily, s/he has much less chance of grabbing you.

The topic of being grabbed is a subject unto itself. But briefly: if this happens (being grabbed, that is) your tactics are probably wrong - reread the first part of this article. If, however, such an unfortunate situation arises, it's no use wailing 'I'll be more careful next time'. You have two alternatives: bluffing and paying up, or disengaging yourself and running off.

When deciding which of these options to take (oh dear, this is making it sound rather dry and academic - can you imagine taking a Higher Diploma in Fare-Dodging? 'Candidates have 30 seconds on this paper - and no copying please'), there are two factors to take into account: first, the positioning of the collector and secondly, your physical state versus that of your assailant.

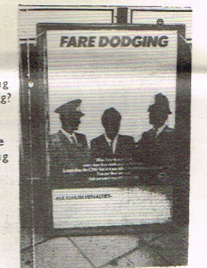
On the first point, if the collector is stuck in one of those little wood and glass boxes and there is no turnstile, there is very little s/he can do except shout. In which case march past with a dignified air. If however, there is a turnstile and s/he won't let you through - pay up. In fact it's best not even to attempt dodging in such circumstances).

If the collector isn't in a box, it really boils down to your chan-

ces of freeing yourself from his/her grasp. Small, wiry persons like myself have an advantage here - often your physical strength is underestimated. For God's sake make sure they don't get hold of your season ticket (especially if, like me, you carry it with your cheque card etc). It's best not to wear delicate clothing which can tear. A hint for sexists: never underestimate the strength of female ticket collectors.

It's a good idea to carry the right amount of change if you think you might get grabbed - if you're able to pay the right amount on the spot they'll probably let you go (and if they don't? ... haven't you read 'Xtra! Judicial'?)

A season ticket is also useful in that if you are travelling home from other destinations than the one marked on your season ticket all you need do is buy the cheapest available ticket to get you into the Underground - unlike British Rail, there are very few ticket collectors on the trains.

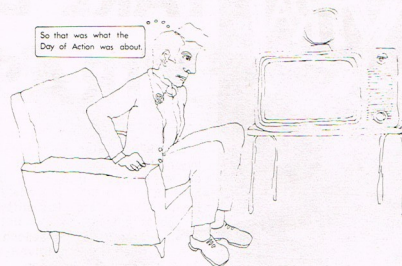


Nb I know this article is very London biased. If you want to correct this regional imbalance why not write in with your own local/national tips. Winning entrants will receive a free 'Fare-dodgers Pass' which enables you to crash any ticket-barrier - providing you're prepared to risk a £200 fine.



Get a little Xtra help with the future.

XTRA!



Issue Number 5 30p

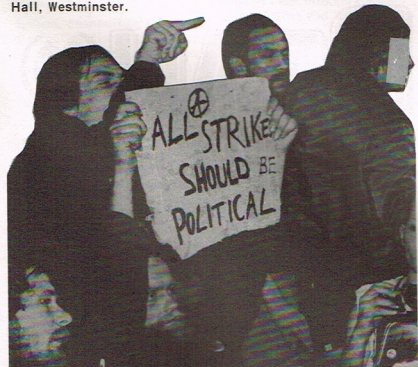


'YOU ARE THE BOSSES!'

Action! What action? Deserted by the usual cover of strikes, the ugly powerseeking figures of the Trade Union hierarchy rallied the bureaucratic faithful.

Not an attack on anti-worker policies, but a sulky whimper at being carved out of government. At the Westminster meeting the point had to be made. You are the bosses.

After the disruption of the TU rally in November and the heckling at the 'Debate of the Decade', perhaps we should have realised they would be prepared for us this time. It was their so-called 'Day of Action': in London a series of thinly peopled strolls, culminating for the most part in the rally in Central Hall, Westminster.



Poorly attended, the meeting was dominated by a phalanx of bureaucrats and Labour Party demi-Gods, sitting behind the platform. Bored apparachiks, come to hear the adulation of the masses - except it wasn't

all adulation.

As soon as we'd taken our seats (they ought to have them permanently reserved for us) we more systematically, tables were surrounded by beer-guts in were overturned in the mael, arm-bands. What gave us away? Luckily our injuries were just Some comrades blame the green

hair, but personally I point the finger at our leaflet headed: 'Smash the Unions and the left. Smash the Bosses and the State. Proletarian Autonomy for the Social Revolution!' (just rolls off the tongue). You should have seen the faces of the loyal Trade Union members as that was handed out. People read it with faces of total bewilderment.

We had come to heckle, but never really got started. The stewards were dying to jump in at the first shout but the Chief Steward held them back: 'Leave 'em Fred, we can wally 'em on the way out...' Eventually a group to our left started heckling (I think this was a SOGAT group protesting about some union sell-out), and we started as well. This was when the stewards waded in.

It was not simply a case of them removing us. They were extracting their revenge and enjoying it. In their efforts to ensure a free press stewards broke some cameras, including a couple from the Tyranny. Outside the hall we were set on more systematically, tables were overturned in the mael, arm-bands. What gave us away? Luckily our injuries were just Some comrades blame the green

bruising etc). One of us appeared to have suffered an attempt to rip his legs off as he was held for the police.

Anyway, fortunately there were no arrests and as the battered few made their way down the stairs a herd of police pushed past us up the stairs. Inside the meeting dragged on. Interminable monologues by indistinguishable Labour stagnation speakers, driving the audience away until at the end the Hall was practically empty.

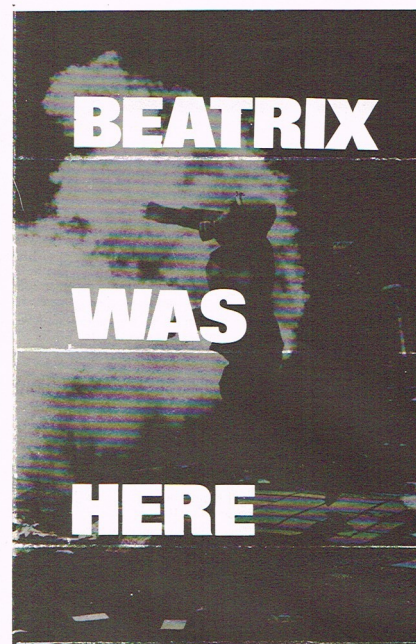
It was good to see what we did so well represented in the national press. Of course it was just used as an opportunity for union-bashing, but it's probably the nearest we'll ever

get to sympathetic coverage. We heard later that individuals within the Hall had been sickened by the actions of the stewards and had actively attempted to stop them. They were prepared to be considerably more sympathetic to what we had to say as a result.

The platform had represented the alternative government, waiting in the wings. All they were interested in was removing the Tories. Is it surprising they were so violent? What we desire is autonomous working class action - free from the manipulations of the left, unions the bosses and the state. Come along next time, if there are enough of us they won't be able to avoid a dialogue.



Another Blow Against The Proletariat



THOUGHTS ON TORNESS

An attempted occupation of the Torness nuclear reactor site in south-east Scotland, over the weekend of May 3rd-5th, attracted about 150 demonstrators. But there were several hundred police (with 3000 on call), with helicopters, dogs, and cars and jeeps equipped with flashlights that turned night into day.

The event was a new development in the anti-nuclear movement in Britain: there was no central direction, this implying the need for, and the guarantee of autonomy (in food, transport, ideas, decisions, etc) for the groups and individuals taking part; and the event was openly advertised as an attempt to occupy the site and cause as much damage as possible. It was an attempt to attack nuclear power directly, as against the hierarchically controlled, media oriented, symbolic actions promoted by such organisations as Friends of the Earth, and the newly formed Anti Nuclear Campaign.

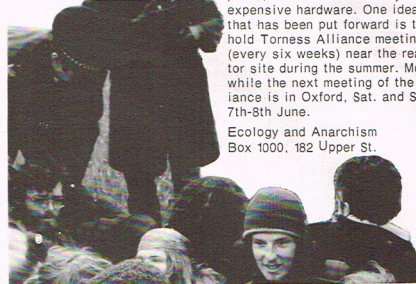
In the circumstances it's not surprising that the only damage done was a few cuts in the outer fence (soon mended), and that there were 27 arrests on breach of the peace charges. The resistance of those arrested was quite successful since the police had declared their intentions of holding them until the rest of the de-

monstrators went home; but the threat to destroy the cells and the refusal to go unless everyone was released ensured that this intention wasn't carried out.

Clearly the 'occupation' was a failure in terms of its original aims, since the damage caused was negligible. But the price the authorities paid was a security operation which probably cost more than any damage we could have hoped to do.

The question now seems to be whether to abandon attempts at direct action on a large rather than small group scale (which means either ineffectiveness, or organising into small commando groups, which may suit some people, but isn't going to mobilise that many); or whether to continue, making use of our strength - autonomy, flexibility, mobility - and their weaknesses - inflexibility, ignorance of our exact plans, reliance for security on expensive hardware. One idea that has been put forward is to hold Torness Alliance meetings (every six weeks) near the reactor site during the summer. Meanwhile the next meeting of the Alliance is in Oxford, Sat. and Sun. 7th-8th June.

Ecology and Anarchism
Box 1000, 182 Upper St.



No houses? No coronation! was the slogan of the Amsterdam squatters in the days leading up to the coronation of the new queen, Beatrix. At the beginning of March the Dutch authorities had used tanks to remove barricades from the Vondelstraat. In response to this provocation the squatters announced they were planning numerous 'actions' against the coronation on 30th April.

The 30th was chosen for several reasons. Firstly the coronation meant the attentions of both the national and international mass-media would be focused on Amsterdam giving a unique opportunity to publicise their struggle. Secondly in Holland 30th April is a day of 'National Unity'. A day of action would therefore unite all those who were opposed to nationalism, the state and the bosses. Thirdly the royal couple had insulted the badly housed by having two mansions restored for their own personal use at a cost of several million guilders.

Walls throughout the country were covered with stickers and slogans saying: 'NO TO MONARCHY. YES TO ANARCHY' and for the first time in Holland posters signed by 'the autonomists' appeared calling on people to 'come to Amsterdam armed with helmets, etc.' Tension mounted and at the end of April Amsterdam became host to a several thousand-strong force of police.

9.AM: The ceremony begins on the Dam Square, the main square in the town where the Royal Palace stands

10.AM: A group of squatters occupies a building in the Kinkerstraat, about two miles from the Dam. The deputy mayor sends in the M.E. (mobile police units) who are greeted with a hail of bricks. Several hundred people come to the aid of the occupiers and barricades go up in the street. Worried by the turn of events the authorities order the M.E. to withdraw at about 11.30 AM.

11.AM: In the meantime the official ceremony continues on the Dam, where the assembled multitudes are unaware of what's happening in the Kinkerstraat. Someone lets off a smoke bomb and is arrested immediately, along with a couple of journalists who are taking photos. A few minutes later members of the royal family appear on the balcony of the Royal Palace. They find it almost impossible to make themselves heard against a background of whistling and booing from people in the crowd.

While all this is going on the TV is showing the first pictures of the events in the Kinkerstraat. In addition, the squatters' pirate radio is broadcasting a continuous live report of the events, which is being relayed by both local and national radio stations. This results in thousands of people pouring onto the streets and making their way towards the Jonas Daniel Meijer square, where the anarchists have already assembled.

2.PM The Jonas Daniel Meijer square and surrounding streets have been stripped of their paving stones and the barricades have gone up. The word goes round: 'Everyone to the Dam!'. From every direction columns of demonstrators march towards the Dam. Thousands of demonstrators marching behind black flags with the police who have orders to stop them reach-



ing the Dam at all costs. The ceremony, now in the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) continues to the accompaniment of ambulance sirens. The fighting is extremely violent and yard by yard the demonstrators edge towards the Dam.

3.PM: The pigs are forced to abandon the Blaumbrug, a bridge they'd been ordered to hold at all costs.

4.PM: The head of the demonstration comes to about 300 or 400 yards from Dam. Police vehicles are in flames. The authorities are afraid the police cordons protecting the Dam will give way. One pig, seeing himself surrounded, takes out his revolver. Finally, reinforcements arrive from other towns, complete with tear-gas grenades, which the demonstrators throw back at them. For the first time in Holland the police use 'B' gas (as used in N. Ireland) which causes vomiting.

They even try to blow the demonstrators off their feet with low flying helicopters.

5.PM: The ceremony comes to a close in the New Church and the Priests, politicians, princes and ambassadors beat a hasty retreat while fighting rages all around. The planned 'triumphal' tour of the town by Beatrix and her clowns is called off. In the town itself there's a general riot. Shops in the centre are broken into and goods liberated. This goes on until 2.AM the following morning. The end result: the whole town centre torn apart, the damage estimated at

several million guilders; 80% of all police vehicles out of action (smashed up, burnt etc.); at least 40 arrests; several hundred injured demonstrators and police.

Rioting also occurred in other parts of the country, notably in the Hague, Arnhem, Groningen and Leeuwarden. In just one day 220 different buildings were occupied in 20 different towns.

Although the Bourgeoisie had expected a few 'problems' on the 30th, the extent of the rioting took it completely by surprise. Fighting on the streets between several thousand people and the police is of course something the 'tolerant' Dutch state cannot tolerate. There have been several immediate responses to the events. The Right has launched a campaign in the media to justify the use of fire-arms by the police. The left, meanwhile has called for a stronger and better equipped police force.

Both sides are united in attacking the 'anarchists and autonomists' who no longer respect the rules of the democratic system. Both sides fear the growth of an extra-parliamentary opposition that will have nothing to do with the jiggery-pokery of politicians and their parties. Consequently a massive witch hunt is now under way to find those 'responsible for organising everything'. Of course, it's the anarchists who are bearing the brunt of repression.

Apart from this immediate wave of repression the tendency for those who no longer 'play the game' to be 'criminalised' (a process already well developed in West Germany) has been greatly reinforced. This affects not only radical groups but also the whole of the squatters' movement, especially since the latter is becoming more and more radical.

Although squatting is still completely legal in Holland, the past few months have seen systematic attempts by the police to crush the squatting movement, especially since squatters are no longer content to occupy old and dilapidated buildings but are now helping themselves to newly built luxury flats and offices. This new strategy is all the more unacceptable to the system since it forms part of a struggle which is clearly anti-capitalist, against speculation and against property.

The squatters movement is not homogeneous (it's a mass movement comprising of several tens of thousands of people) but in the big towns it is particularly well organised and highly efficient. In Amsterdam, for example squatters have their own local advice centres in over 20 districts. They have their own cafes, their own law centres and several free radio stations. They're all in permanent contact with each other by telephone which means they can mobilise quickly in the event of an emergency.

Although several political parties and small groups have tried to influence the movement, in general the squatters are suspicious of authoritarian organisations. Libertarian practices, on the other hand, are rapidly gaining ground.

Fireball on politics

What do they mean by MONETARISM anyway?

Well, are YOU better off as a result of the Budget? Nor am I. But then, when has any recent Chancellor even claimed that the Budget would make the mass of people better off? Oh no: 'sacrifices have to be made ... two years hard slog ... we're laying the foundations of a strong economy ... jam tomorrow ... we've never claimed it would be easy (except when were in Opposition)...'

And then the newspaper headlines/Editorials (the two are becoming increasingly hard to tell apart) would tell us that, at long last, Chancellor Callaghan/Jenkins/Barber (remember him?)/Healey/Howe (who?) was beginning to Face Reality, Tell the British Nation the Truth, that we've (that's you and me, darlings, not Daily Mail leader-writers on £20,000 a year) been Living Beyond Our Means, that The World Doesn't Owe us a Living.

Of all the above phrases, perhaps the most amusing/irritating is the one about 'telling the Nation the Truth'. An awful lot of people claim to know The Truth about this economics business. The only snag is, there seem to be an awful lot of different truths floating around at present.

Take Monetarism for instance. This whole subject seems to have become totally obfuscated by its proponents and opponents, to the extent that most 'debate' no longer centres on the actual topic in question, but rather on what has come to be associated with it, eg Professor Milton Friedman. Most of the Left appear to regard this man as a Fascist Beast of the first order. If so perhaps they were taken aback when they saw him on TV: small, grinning friendly if argumentative. What a disappointment (still, he WAS American; couldn't conceal that, now could he?).

But back to the central issue. What, then is monetarism? Take a deep breath, relax, and expunge all thoughts of Sir Keith Joseph, unemployment, Chile/Fascism, M3, the Thirties etc from your mind. 'Monetarism' then, consists of the simple proposition that the cause of inflation - and the sole cause, at that - is excessive growth of the stock of money in the economy. Or, put another way, if the amount of money in the economy increases faster than the amount of goods, then their price will inevitably rise. In other words, the goods.... well, it should be abundantly clear by now. If it isn't, you haven't been paying attention; in which case come and see me after class.

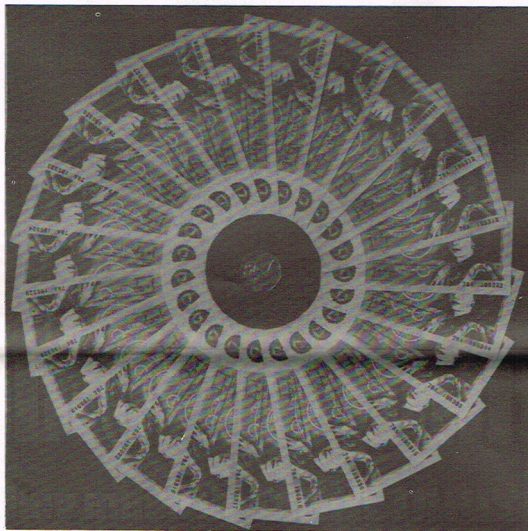
Truth

There you are. Didn't hurt too much, did it? Now, I am not going to fall into the authoritarian trap of saying that such a proposition is The Truth (although I might just mention in passing that it IS, and that anyone who disagrees with me is an ignorant fool who should be publicly horse-whipped and forced to read Socialist Worker for the rest of his/her life). Not on your nelly, mate. Mind you, it is an undeniably seductive proposition, isn't it? Rather like the one about two and two making four. In which case: why is monetarism such a dirty word on the left? Probably because most of its exponents hold very right-wing views, so that monetarism has become associated with all kinds of fabulous monsters and hideous legends.

So let us debunk a few of the myths surrounding monetarism. Strictly speaking there is no reason why a lefty should not be a monetarist.

other way is simply borrowing money from the outside banking system. This could be from private individuals or from the International Monetary Fund.

So am I arguing in favour of monetarism? Not really. It's simply that facts are facts. To accept that the world is round is not to 'argue in favour' of its roundness; and if right-wingers also say it's round this doesn't detract from its validity.



After all, being a monetarist simply means accepting a direct link between money supply and the rate of inflation. It does not follow that one should necessarily disapprove of inflation. In fact many progressives see inflation as a way of bringing about social change. Well, if you happen to be a monetarist progressive you should be able to decide exactly what rate of inflation you want. All you need do to achieve this is to increase the money stock at a rate of X% above the level of output to achieve X% inflation (but always remember to allow for a time lag of 18 months to 2 years).

Myths

Another myth - perhaps the most potent of all, at least as far as the Labour Party is concerned - is that public spending cuts are the only way to contain the growth of the money supply. This is because, the argument goes, the only reason why the Government prints more money is that it is a means of filling what is technically referred to as the Public Sector Borrowing Requirement (or PSBR, as we economists groovily call it). Yes, darlings, but there are other ways of filling the deficit. One way is taxation - which needn't necessarily affect the masses as the rich could afford to pay more. An-

And acceptance of the realities of the capitalist world (oh dear, that sounds a teeny bit left-wing) doesn't necessarily lead to right-wing prescriptions (though in my case I suppose it does).

Havoc

Monetarism seems to be causing havoc in the Labour Party at present. The trouble is that the Government's economic policies are in many ways similar to those of the last Labour Government. When Denis Healey was Chancellor, hardly a week could go by without him boasting toothily about 'my monetary targets'. Now he pops up on Milton Friedman's 'Free to Choose' TV series, noisily denouncing the former's 'Saatchi and Saatchi type simplistic films'. Actually, I have to admit grudgingly that Healey did extremely well. Watching him alongside poor, furtive, well-mannered Geoffrey Howe, rudely interrupting and blatantly refusing to heed appeals 'not to bring this down to party point scoring', it was difficult to realise that it was the quiet, bespectacled Tory who was in charge of the economy and not the irrepressible, rumbustious Healey. It is this confident, thrusting aspect of Denis, coupled with his air of experience and worldliness which will, I am certain, en-

sure his inheritance of the Labour Party's leadership when Jim finally decides to call it a day.

However, he'll inherit a lot of trouble as well. For the Labour Party, never exactly enthusiastic about monetarism, is likely to become even more hostile as unemployment soars and the cuts bite. Why, even Jim Callaghan has started making noises about the dangers of monetarism. He recently (on Weekend World) denounced it all as a 'gimmick', claiming that when he was Chancellor back in the Swinging Sixties 'M3 hadn't even been invented' (and when he was Chancellor...he resigned). Indeed, Jim went further, calling for increases in public expenditure. I hardly think Healey would be keen on that. Healey's main theme seems to be that monetarism is OK providing that it's a Labour Party type, not a Conservative one. What's the difference? Ah, Labour's is more 'compassionate' (more income tax, more money for the Arts Council).

Not that the Tories are at one on the subject either. A lot of the more clear-headed ones realise that the Government's policy of monetarism, coupled with its restrictive policies on economics, is leading towards plummeting profits and zero (or even minus) growth. Like the statist Labour Party left-wing, they are terrified of 'deindustrialisation' (a subject unto which I hope to deal with another time). And it is true that a certain amount of inflation is vital to capitalism.

Some Xtra! tyrants have urged me to 'come out in favour of abolishing money'. I suppose that would provide a good alibi for shop-lifting or fare-dodging - 'sorry guv, I can't pay; they've abolished money - didn't you hear the news this morning?' And, without the infernal stuff in existence I suppose there'd be no danger of it increasing too fast. On the other hand, if money was abolished we'd have to be living in a perfect world - and what-pray, would I be able to write about in this column under such circumstances?

CAMPAIGN FOR THE ABOLITION OF MONEY

CHAPTER THREE: BANANAS AND THEIR ACQUISITION

Method A (Scene: A street, not too far away from where you are reading this)

CHILD (pleadingly): Mummy, I want a banana, please.
MOTHER (of 'strained' appearance, holding a shopping bag): No, I'm sorry, but I can't afford anymore.

Method B (Scene: A patch in a 'primitive' society - somewhere **CHILD** (casually): Mummy, I want a banana, please.
MOTHER (seated, quietly humming a song): Well, (smiles) don't just stand there looking at me! Go and pick some!

HAS MANKIND, AT THIS STAGE OF MODERN CAPITALISM, REACHED THE PINNACLE OF HUMAN CIVILISATION? WHY NOT THINK ABOUT A SOCIETY OF FREE ACCESS.

On Counter-Culture..

Read Time Out? Go to all the leftist rallies? Stay at home on May 14? Loath capitalism? Hate the American Dream?



I do but we've got a massive shit heap in our own garden, we're the biggest consumers of the newest brand of capitalism - the counter culture. We're the blinkered fools who think we're not being exploited. But we're just putting money into the pockets of the new 'subtle and improved' capitalists - not top-hatted men of ninety, but jean-infested people of twenty, thirty or forty.

These are the people who in the laid-back days of the sixties sought equality, liberty and the anti-capitalist dream (hallucination?), set up 'underground' supplies of what their liberated generation wanted - alternative magazines, alternative record-shops, clothing shops, eating places etc.

Slowly as the liberated generation got older and liberalised (sticking to their old principles of course, but we've got to think of the kids now and the car, and the stereo and the...) The purveyors of the alternative culture became more and more entrenched and began to make large profits out of a gullible and 'non-exploited' market.

The liberated generation wasn't aware that these alternative dream merchants, who vehemently criticised the capitalist creed, lived by it too - it's just that these people don't look like the stereotyped fat capitalist bastards. Maintaining the freethinking sixties atmosphere sells goods and creates profit, just as victoriana is a good gimmick for ripping off American tourists.

In London there are loads of examples of young people making money out of their 'comrades' nostalgia. The Hard Rock Cafe, Food for Thought, almost all of Camden Town and Covent Garden exists to feed the trips of the gullible consumers who think they are dealing with profit-sharing workers' co-ops and getting 'value' for money.

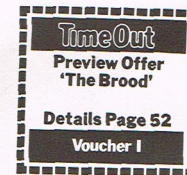
Naturally £4 for a second-hand shirt, or 35p for a loaf of wholemeal bread is cheap, but costs are less for these people. Just ask next time you buy something at a 'hip' establishment how much it cost in the first place and who pockets the difference. The answer would have Milton Friedman jumping for joy. If wholemeal

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bread doesn't make a good profit why has Wonderloaf invented wholemeal bread for mass consumption?

In the late seventies punks recognised the hypocritical nature

of the sixties dream, but they too sucked in. Ms Selfridge bondage wear and sow-on anarchy badges. But the punk downfall to capitalism was far more visible, everyone could see it and in reaction punk became 'passez'. No-one wanted to be a punk except hippies at fancy dress parties. The fat capitalists only caught the tail end of the fashion and failed to make a fast buck.



Punk, however, revitalised the counter-culture market. The new youth rebellion brought new commodities (and profit) to a market that was becoming sterile (and potentially unprofitable). New rebellious poses had to be fed and it was the capitalists of the sixties, still young, in touch with and trusted by the younger people, who were their feeders.

Virgin records, that trustworthy supplier of obscure records by Dylan, Beefheart or Country Joe and the Fish, synonymous with run down shops, headphones and people with long hair, have opened Megastores with security men and TV. Space Invaders and the Human League.

Who gains from this increased efficiency? Not the record buyer, or the Virgin assistants, but Richard Branson and his fellow

directors - some alternative. It's funny too to hear John Peel doing adverts for the Virgin moveymen, another figure of the alternative establishment reaping his financial benefits. I suppose Virgin will sign up the Clash soon to 'turn rebellion into money' (their quote).

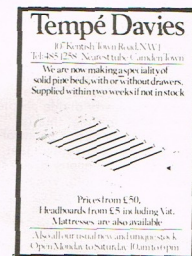
Time Out is another left biased firm that doesn't practice what it preaches. TO offers a lot - left biased news (and detective) service, the most comprehensive what's on guide in London and fairly reasonable arts criticism. But these are the journalists and editors who work for the magazine, not the people who gain the profit from the wide circulation and advertising.

XXXX set up and owns the magazine, he gives his journalists free editorial control, good wages and plenty of perks with the job (paternity as well as maternity leave is one), but this guy knows which side his bread is buttered. If he hadn't set up an 'alternative' circulation magazine he couldn't possibly have got in on the money market. Another sign of TO's profit before principles is the as yet not cleared up mystery as to why they took their printing to Tralee, N.Ireland (coincidentally?) during the first few weeks of the NGA's action.

Other more traditional industries have adopted their own ways to jump in on the alternative bandwagon. Community radio and radio-phone-ins (freedom of speech - with a seven second delay), have thrived in the last ten years, not because of some philanthropic

gesture on the part of the radio directors, but because someone going berserk on a live phone-in (and the expectation of this) keeps people listening to the program - adverts and all.

Law centres and 'radical' lawyers have been set up to defend and help local people who get a tough deal from the law. But the people get their legal aid payments by going along with the existing laws, win or lose the case that's all that matters. They should be using their ability to question change and eradicate laws, instead of pandering to the present system.



The cinemas, sociologists, psychologists, the Church, the Mafia and many other industries have adapted themselves in the past ten years, but their economic structures have remained the same. It's just the style of advertisement and consumption that have changed. Che and Zapata are alive and well and selling jeans and shoes in Kensington.

..And State Culture

'We need more money for the Arts', 'Young people should be encouraged to take more interest in the Arts', 'the Government must step in to save the Arts from collapse'. How reasonable these common phrases sound; who could disagree? Well, I do for a start.

Let's start with the central phrase. 'The Arts'. How dreary, how monolithic, how respectable, how MISERABLE it sounds! I'm listening to Radio 1 'Talkabout' programme while typing this: twenty minutes into it and I've already lost count of how many times the pernicious phrase has been uttered. (And we've got Norman Singh Bum, or whatever his name is, the Minister for The Arts (next stop the Ministry for Truth?) blathering on about what 'a bargain' the Arts are. Yes folks, it's money money money all the way.)

But in reality, 'The Arts do not exist. We have artists, musicians, playwrights, and we have works of art, pieces of music and plays. Some are good some are bad. To lump them all together under a banner like

'The Arts' is as ludicrous as the phrase 'the people think...'

As ludicrous, yes, but regrettably just as widespread in everyday language. It's all part of destroying the concept of individualism. Just as individual human beings can be submerged in a lathery phrase like 'the People' or 'the masses', so individual instances of creativity can be smothered and labelled under the all-embracing, statist term 'The Arts'. And then a small number of Eton-and-Oxford educated £25,000 a year bureaucrats can decide whether Your 'Art' is 'worthy'. Yes? OK, here's some lovely money then (after all, that's the highest art form of all, isn't it?); we'll give you plenty of publicity and make sure you're given nice notices - the final accolade is to be told that you've made a big contribution to the British Arts (in

the same way, I suppose, that Adolf Hitler made 'a big contribution to German Fascism').

And if you're judged as 'not worthy'? Well, you're obviously not 'valid'; you're not contributing to the 'betterment of The People's minds' (ie making sure they don't use them - after all, it might fire them out, poor dears). And without the Arts Council, who could survive? How could Beethoven, Shakespeare, Orwell, John Lennon, Bernard Shaw - bugger it, this is getting silly! - the Clash for that matter, then - how could they have managed without good notices in the Press and the personal stamp of approval from Sir Roy Shaw (chairman of the Arts Council, for the benefit of our culture-starved readers)?

The fact that they did destroys at a stroke all the condescending crap about artists 'needing' to become yet another nationalised industry - run by the few for the benefit of the

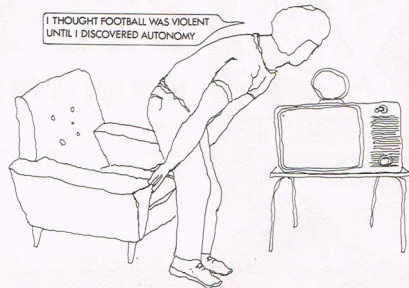
few, but paid for the many. I remember hearing dear old Melvyn Barg (the unthinking person's Culture Expert) on Any Questions a few weeks ago, nasally giving his all-purpose solution to every pro-

blem: fling more money on it. Then came along a question (how inevitable, given that Sir Roy Shaw was on the panel as well); what do we do about The Arts? No prizes for guessing his answer to that one.



Paper for the Armchair Terrorist

I THOUGHT FOOTBALL WAS VIOLENT
UNTIL I DISCOVERED AUTONOMY



Issue Number 6 30p

Getting closer all the time

INSIDE: Resistance in the STATE

LOOK WHAT THEY'VE DONE TO ALLY PALLY

On Thursday 10th July, Alexandra Palace was gutted by fire. This Victorian mock classical folly was stuck on top of a hill overlooking suburban North London. When it caught fire it could be seen for miles. Britain's very own St Helen's vomiting over the mediocrity down below. Ideal national and local press fodder. Short article, big picture, potted history — powerful image. Bugger the poetry, if the journalists had bothered (or their editors allowed them) to ask local people what THEY thought of the fire, they wouldn't have wasted their time writing their pathetic bits of prose.

The circumstances — the wheelings and dealings that have surrounded the Palace and fire — would have been published and the shit would have hit the fan. Too many coincidences have been noticed for this fire merely to be the result of the fickle finger of fate, as they would have us believe. More like arson if you ask us. But they're not asking or listening to us — or anyone else in Haringey come to that.

Alexandra Palace was handed over to Haringey Council by the GLC on January 1st this year, together with an £8.5 million loan to do the place

up. By April, Haringey Council had come up with a grand plan to spend all this money on turning the Palace into an International Exhibition Centre, like Earls Court or Olympia.

The plan was ambitious to say the least: a large central exhibition space, a secondary exhibition hall, two restaurants, a hotel, a skating rink and a country club (in North London?). These plans were drawn up in a period of a few weeks. A miracle for a Council with a council housing waiting list of over a year.

The speed, the expense and the unnecessary and far too ambitious plan for botching up what was a beautiful building and park, was opposed almost unanimously by local people. Two local groups united in their campaigns. One, SOS, included people who had been invol-

ved in several previous campaigns concerning the Palace and park. There were public meetings, the public enquiry was the usual white-wash job and not surprisingly, the Council came out on top.

In the weeks before the fire several

strange things happened. At the time they appeared unimportant, but in the context of what later took place they now seem mighty mysterious. For starters the Council changed its

continued P3





XTRA-JUDICIAL

WOMEN IN PRISON

Women have always been regarded as the object rather than the subject of legal discussions. Henry VIII classed women, children and mental incompetents together and wrote a treatise on whether women could be regarded as 'persons' in Law.

Later women were regarded as inferior so that when crimes were committed in the presence of a woman's husband she was not even held responsible.

In 1895 a study of the female offender by Lambros and Ferrero stated that women who 'cross the law are abnormal creatures, bereft of maternal instincts and physically resembling men'. They went to the extreme of measuring the physiology of women prisoners to find the 'criminal woman'. Needless to say they failed and much of their work has since been ridiculed. However their view of the innate nature of women continued in circulation.

Three generations later Otto Pollack described women as 'essentially evil creatures, their inhibitions weakened during menstruation'. Even in the 1950's the women in one prison were described by a prison governor as 'a swarm of defective, diseased, anti-social misfits'. And the Home Office Prisons' Department issued a report on the treatment of women and girls in 1970 which described women in prison as having 'damaged personalities' and being 'anti-social misfits'. It also stated that such women 'wish to conform with society, but for various reasons are unable to do so'.

Women came to be treated the same as far as punishment was concerned — they were imprisoned, beaten and executed. The only difference between the sexes was a woman might plead 'her belly' until her child was born, before being killed. When the penal colonies were set up women were sent out there as often as the men.

As imprisonment became a more common form of punishment everyone — man or woman, debtor or condemned — was put into common prisons. There was only nominal separation of the sexes until in the early 1800's people became involved in prison reform.

Elizabeth Fry, who was born 200 years ago this year, was responsible for the total separation of men and women. She also introduced the idea of education and work for prisoners.

But the next change of any significance did not take place until December 1968 when James Callaghan, then Home Secretary, announced plans to build a new women's prison in place of the old Holloway. At the same time it was announced that henceforth all women 'offending seriously and frequently enough to warrant imprisonment, must be physically and/or mentally in need of therapy,' and that the women's prisons in this country were to be seen as 'therapeutic institutions' from then on. On reflection this seems quite a natural development of the previous line on female offenders.

It is quite obvious that a legal and judicial double-standard exists. Women are treated as quasi-juveniles, requiring mandatory social enquiry reports (the only other group in a similar position are juvenile offenders). A woman is sent for psychiatric reports on the flimsiest of grounds, if the judge does not think her actions are normal. There is no consideration, of course, of the possibility of the crime being the result of living in this society. Instead, because a woman does not,

cannot, or will not conform to society's ideal of womanhood, she is then in need of treatment. Most women do not commit crimes; Most women are normal; Therefore: — women who commit crimes are not normal!

TABLE A

Number awaiting trial	2445
% Found not guilty	4.7
% Given non-custodial sentences	46.9
% Given custodial sentences	26.7
% Not known	21.7

TABLE B

Number awaiting sentence	1692
% Given non-custodial sentences	65.3
% Given custodial sentences	28.8
% Not known	5.9

TABLE C

Sentenced to borstal	332
Sentenced to prison	2,000
Fine defaulters	895
Civil offences	82
Immigration Act 1971 deportation	80
NB Average Daily Population 1987	

TABLE D

Breakdown of offences

Petty theft (mainly under £5 value)	1024
Prostitution	214
Fraud (mainly social security)	178
Burglary	171
Wounding	164
Criminal damage	80
Handling stolen goods	62
Assault	57
Robbery	48
Arson	26
Other violence against the person	25
Taking and driving away	19
Cruelty to children	13
Sexual offences (not prostitution)	10
Motoring	7
Vagrancy Act	6
Murder	5
Drink/drugs/driving	3
Immigration Act (criminal offence)	2
Drunk	2

In the tables of 1978 figures it emerges firstly that over 58% of all the women awaiting trial or sentencing are released after spending up to six months in prison for no apparent reason. Secondly it can be seen that the vast majority of women are inside for either theft, forgery or prostitution.

In 1978 all the mother and baby units were occupied at any one time. The majority of these children were born in prison and will have to spend their first year (or more) subjected to the same regime as their mothers.

There are far fewer women than men in prison — about one woman to every nine men. But women figure largely in the numbers sent straight from the courts to psychiatric institutions under the 'Section 60' ruling, for a period of up to two years. Although recent figures are not available, those referring to April 1963 — March 1964 showed that almost 20% of people placed under Section 60 orders were women and the figures are known to have increased since then. This shows a much higher percentage than of women being sent to prison.

Prison is in itself an abnormal experience, separating a person from reality, degrading and brutalising him or her before a release with nothing to show for it but a loss of dignity, self-respect and in many cases the loss of jobs, family and friends.

Unfortunately the prisons movement has tended to concentrate only on men in prison. And the women's Movement also tends to react only if well-known feminists or political activists are imprisoned. It is high

time that changed. The present legal system attacks all the working class equally — woman or man, black or white, it makes little difference.

In the past ten years there has been an upsurge in activity — riots, demos in the prisons and a greater degree of awareness outside. But things have almost always been dominated by men.

In February this year there was a significant change in this situation as women in British prisons, traditionally passive and disunited, started to fight back. Four women in Holloway (none of them previously politically active, whether in feminism or any other area) wrote and smuggled a letter out of Holloway.

For the first time women in British prisons had spoken out. And in spite of press conferences and agitation, the event was almost entirely ignored. A small number of radical papers and eventually the Guardian, thanks to the women at Spare Rib, were the only exceptions.

Holloway prison was picketted, many people turned up, but no-one from PROP (the national prisoners' movement). It is obvious to get anything changed we have to do it ourselves. When women inside are ready to fight we have to back them up — and that doesn't just mean other women. It would be ridiculous to say that only blacks should support blacks and the same is true of women. The real crime is the existence of prisons and we are as responsible as the state.

RUTH J WAJSBLUM
Organiser of East London Women
on Against Prison.

Statement Smuggled Out Of Holloway

Written by Four Women Prisoners

In recent months we have heard a lot about the oppression of male prisoners, and the most violent attack by a special squad of prison officers on our brothers serving sentences in Wormwood Scrubs Prison. We would like to show our solidarity by showing that as women we are also part of the prison struggle.

We as inmates of Holloway list these demands and call for women on the outside to show their solidarity by some form of direct action. Here are our demands:

- 1) The right to form a prisoners' union
- 2) The end to forced labour
- 3) The end of sexist and racist remarks by the prison staff
- 4) The end to pre-trial detention
- 5) The end of widespread drugging of prisoners as an extra means of control
- 6) Full-time educational facilities
- 7) Automatic parole
- 8) The end to imprisonment of women with children
- 9) The right to legal representation at all internal adjudications
- 10) The end to political victimisation
- 11) The end to cellular and solitary confinement
- 12) The right to subscribe to any papers or books
- 13) The end to all censorship
- 14) Unrestricted visiting conditions
- 15) The end to harassment of minority groups ie gays, blacks, feminists and political prisoners.

We would like to put our names to these demands but after what has happened to our brothers and comrades in Wormwood Scrubs we are worried that we would be subjected to intimidation and violence.

